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CRUEL PERSECUTIONS
OF THE
PROTESTANTS
IN THE
KINGDOM OF FRANCE

FIRST AMERICAN REPRINT

OF THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

PUBLISHED IN LONDON IN 1707

WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR

JEAN CLAUDE

11

BY

NARCISSE CYR,

PUBLISHER

BOSTON,

1893

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**THE LIBRARY
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TO THE

REV. CHARLES CHINIQUY,

THE

Venerable and Eloquent Champion

OF

EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANITY,

WHO

DURING MANY YEARS OF ARDUOUS LABORS AND FREQUENT
PERSECUTIONS, HAS NOT ONLY EXPOSED

THE ERRORS OF ROME,

BUT BROUGHT THOUSANDS OF SOULS TO JESUS CHRIST.

THIS FIRST AMERICAN REPRINT

OF THE

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF CLAUDE'S MASTERPIECE IS
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY

NARCISSE CYR.

CLAUDE AND HIS MASTERPIECE.

The author of this remarkable book, which is offered to the American public for the first time, is Jean Claude, one of the most eloquent French Protestant ministers, and certainly the ablest defender of the Reformed Faith in the 17th century. After he was called to the church at Charenton—a parish which included the Protestants of Paris and vicinity—he became the natural champion of Protestantism in France, and fought valiantly against such men as Arnauld, Nicole and Bossuet, who was then the *Goliath* of Rome.

Our author was born, in 1619, at Sauvetat, a small town near Agen, in the Southwest of France. His father was a Protestant pastor, who attended himself to the early education of his son. The latter after going through the usual course of study, was ordained at the age of twenty-six, and called first to the little church of La Freyne. He remained there only one year, having been promoted to a

more important pastorate, that of the church of Sainte Affrique. After eight years of faithful work in that old interesting town, he was invited to the church at Nimes, then, as now, the most important outside of Paris. This call was highly complimentary as well as very encouraging to the comparatively young pastor. He was then thirty-five, a good age to assume important and responsible duties.

In the city of Nimes, Claude found more ample opportunities to develop his talents for the pulpit. A daily preaching service was held in the church, each of the three pastors officiating in turn; the children were taught carefully the principles of Evangelical Christianity, thoroughly catechized, in the first and best sense of the word, as they are still by the French pastors; moreover, the sick and feeble of the flock were cared for and protected from Romish proselytism. Such a pastorate, we can easily understand, involved duties which greatly taxed the time and strength of Claude; yet he chose to add to them the voluntary work of private lectures to the students of the Protestant Literary and Theological Academy in that city, lectures which were very much appreciated by these students for the ministry.

Claude was not only an eloquent preacher

and a faithful pastor, but a man of strong convictions and a bold defender of what he considered the truth. So that when a Protestant, whom the court had gained to the idea of a Reunion of the Protestants with the Catholics, appeared in a Synod of the Lower Languedoc, to advocate that plan, Claude opposed it with energy and ability. He was successful, and for that *offence* punished by a Decree of the Council, which forbade him to exercise the ministry in that Province of which Nimes was the capital.

Claude immediately went to Paris to appeal from this arbitrary decree; he remained there six months, but his efforts were unsuccessful. His residence in the Metropolis, however, was useful to him in more ways than one. He became better acquainted with some of his distinguished co-religionists, as well as with the enemies of the Protestant faith. He was doubtless invited to preach at Charenton, and thus the way was prepared for his call to that charge two or three years later.

When Claude became convinced that there was no justice to be obtained from the government, he returned to the south of France, and was soon called to the important church of Montauban, which he served faithfully until

1666, when he accepted the most responsible post, that of Charenton.

Even under the reign of toleration, secured to them by the Edict of Nantes, the Huguenots were not allowed to have a place of worship in Paris, nor within five miles of that city. At first, and for many years, they were obliged to have their church at the little town of Ablon, about eight miles from the capital, a place not at all central for them. After many petitions and supplications, they were permitted to exchange Ablon for Charenton, which is precisely five miles southeast of Paris. There a place of worship, a *Temple*, as it was called, was constructed by the famous architect, DeBrosses. It was a plain building, but well adapted to the wants of the Protestants of the Metropolis and vicinity. Fourteen thousand persons could be seated in it, and the three pastors who ministered to that parish, scattered over a large extent of country, preached in turn eloquent and earnest sermons to interested audiences; hearers who came five, ten and even fifteen miles to hear the Evangel of light and life, which the glorious Reformation had restored to the world.

It was from this large, appreciative and beloved flock that the eminent pastor was torn away, on the very day that the Edict of Revo-

cation was registered in the Parliament of Paris. The Court would not grant him the fifteen days allowed by the Edict to all the ministers, without distinction, but as soon as this document was published in the Metropolis, Claude was "commanded to leave Paris within four and twenty hours, and forthwith to depart the Kingdom. For this end they put him into the hands of one of the King's footmen, with orders not to leave him till he was out of his dominions." He took the coach at Paris, the next day, for Brussels, with his escort, who, it is said, was very civil to him all the way to the frontier, where they separated. The criminal, of whom France was not worthy, had evidently made a very favorable impression upon the royal servant.

It is interesting to know that the senior pastor of Charenton, as he journeyed through France, received many marks of kindness, not only from his brethren, but even from some of his enemies.

From Brussels, Claude proceeded to Holland, where many distinguished exiles had preceded him. He met there with a warm reception from his fellow countrymen and the inhabitants of that hospitable country. He was honored soon after his arrival with a considerable pension by William, the Prince of Orange,

a fact which shows in what high estimation this Huguenot pastor was held. Thus relieved from pecuniary anxiety, the old soldier of Christ who had fought valiantly all his life in favor of the Reformed Religion, could at last enjoy days of a well deserved and much needed rest. He was then sixty-six years of age. For men like our author there is little respite in this world, where they see so much work to be done. While Claude found in Holland a very congenial society—for that country had really become a great intellectual and religious center for the French Protestants—his heart was in France, with his suffering brethren, and he soon concluded that he could not better serve the cause of religious Freedom, Humanity and Justice, than by publishing to the world the details of the cruel persecutions which had preceded and followed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, protesting before Heaven and Earth against all the violences, persecutions and horrors perpetrated by the agents of Louis XIV, at the instigation of Père La Chaise, Le Tellier and other Jesuits.

This book, written in French, which was then the language not only of diplomacy and of courts, but also that of all educated people, was destined to be widely read and to awaken deep sympathy for the persecuted Huguenots

while showing the persecutors in their true light. As well says Prof. Henry M. Baird, of the University of the City of New York, "it was the most scathing indictment which that generation knew of the atrocities perpetrated by Louis XIV., and it produced such a sensation as did no other book. Louis himself winced under the lash, and desired to destroy every copy of the book he could lay hand upon. It is no wonder that he persuaded the weak king of England to cause it to be burned by the public hangman of the city of London. To us this is a recommendation."

It is worthy of notice that the spies of the French monarch had discovered that a translation of this book into English was being made and would soon be published. The French ambassador in London hastened to inform James II of the fact, and denounced the work as a most abominable production, not only full of slanders against his royal master, but also of republican and revolutionary ideas! The king of England showed great readiness to please his brother monarch, and immediately ordered the book to be suppressed and the printer punished. All the copies of the translation that could be found, were immediately seized and burnt publicly, by the hangman, in the court of the Royal Exchange of the English

capital! As for the publisher, although the work bore no name, he was soon discovered by the spies of Rome, imprisoned and financially ruined. The translator was also severely punished. And yet these two men had omitted the most forcible passages of Claude's masterpiece, in fact nearly a third of the work, so as to evade prosecution from the government. What would have been their fate, had they published the book as it was in 1707 and now with its strong but well merited denunciations of the most outrageous persecutions that Christians ever suffered, with its mighty protests against the horrors perpetrated in the name of religion, and with its most touching appeals to the conscience of Europe, and to the entire world?

Thank God, the government which burnt Claude's book, disappeared two years later, and a new era dawned for England when William of Orange landed on the British Isle, accompanied by his Huguenot regiments, his best and most heroic soldiers.

Claude, alas, was not privileged to hail that glorious day, but he lived long enough to see of the fruits of his last labors in behalf of his persecuted brethren, and his end was peace and joy. Having been called to deliver the sermon on Christmas, 1666, he preached with his ordinary unction. The Princess of Orange was

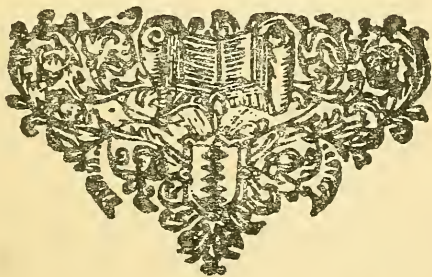
present and enjoyed the discourse as usual. The preacher was apparently well, but that very day was taken ill and died on the 13th of January following. Not much is known of his illness, but enough to warrant the statement that he died a most edifying death, sustained by that Faith, "which is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things unseen."

Claude, by giving the details of the cruel persecutions suffered by the French Protestants at the close of the 17th century, has left to the world a legacy, whose value can hardly be overestimated. His graphic account has stirred the hearts of thousands in Europe and will have the same effect in America. The reprint of this book has been greatly encouraged by a number of our representative men in this country who have become acquainted with its contents. It comes opportunely with its lessons and warnings at the present time. The learned Prof. Coussirat, of the Presbyterian College of Montreal, a descendant of the Huguenots, did not exaggerate the importance of the present reprint when he wrote to the undersigned: "You are doing a good work in showing free American citizens what they may expect, should the Catholic church ever obtain supremacy in the United States." He further called attention to a fact, too much overlooked

in this country, saying: "It is certain that Rome has never repudiated the acts of her agents, nor has she ever given up her pretended right to coerce those whom she stigmatizes as heretics. God grant that Claude's *Plaintes des Protestants* may be a warning to Americans!"

NARCISSE CYR.

A
SHORT ACCOUNT
Of the COMPLAINTS,
AND
Cruel PERSECUTIONS
OF THE
PROTESTANTS
IN THE
KINGDOM of FRANCE.



L O N D O N,
Printed by W. REDMAYNE. 1707.

TO THE
MOST REVEREND
FATHER IN GOD,
His Grace the Lord Archbishop
OF
CANTERBURY,
And the Right Reverend Father
in God the Lord Bishop
OF
LONDON.
MY LORDS,

I have newly caused to be translated into English the Book intituled, THE COMPLAINTS OF THE PROTESTANTS IN THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE with this design, to

4 *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

let Great Britain know and understand by Examples, how it is that Popery, when it has the power on its Side uses to proceed against all them that are not of its own Communion; and how much this united Kingdom is therefore indebted to the Divine Goodness, for having both hitherto preserved, and for Posterity also secured it from those great Evils, which so considerable a Part of those professing with them the same Holy Faith have suffered, and still do suffer, in other Parts.

This YOUR LORDSHIPS know perfectly well; and have no need to be told it over again; But the Generality of People in this Nation are greatly Ignorant in this Matter, and can hardly be persuaded to believe the Excess, Violence and Barbarity which by our Enemies has been and still is used. Wherefore for the Information of such, and for the disappointment of the Emissaries of France, who would gladly have the Remembrance hereof to be lost; I have thought it might be very proper to address to YOUR LORDSHIPS the Part I have in this valuable Piece; which is the

Translation of it; and lay before your Eyes the matters which it contains, both because 'tis well known how your LORDSHIPS have, as with all your might, so with a Success answerable, labored to dissipate the Storm, which lately seem'd to gather here, and threaten this flourishing Kingdom with the like Calamities: And how you have moreover greatly refreshed and comforted the FRENCH PROTESTANTS, who fled hither for Refuge, as became true FATHERS IN CHRIST.

YOUR LORDSHIPS are not ignorant, how they then made their Complaints, and their Protestations against the persecution of France: Nor can it be a Secret to you what was done here, consequently to the publishing this true and faithful Memorial of theirs, to give a just Representation of their State. But the Copies hereof were not only suppressed, but prohibited so strictly, and in such a manner watch'd as they were hardly ever known to this Nation, as I can find. And hence it is that the very Children of the Refugees themselves, who either came hither very

6 *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

young, or else are born here, do not know the Cause of the Exile and Transmigration of their Fathers and Mothers; a thing which they certainly ought to be well informed of, and never to forget. It is with a Prospect of perpetuating to future Generations the sad Remembrance of the Subversion of the State and Condition of the Protestants of France, by the unjust Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, that one who is a refugee here has caused the said Book, containing their Complaints and Protestations to be reprinted for all the rest.

And whereas by a Declaration of King Charles II. of the 28th of July, 1681, YOUR LORDSHIPS are marked out expressly by the Dignities of the Archbishop of CANTERBURY and the Bishop of LONDON, on purpose to receive the Petitions and Complaints of the distressed Refugees, in order to be communicated as need shall require; YOUR LORDSHIPS are therefore humbly supplicated to cast your Eyes upon the Preface of this Book, which shoves the several Estates of these poor

persecuted People, as it is at present, to which either by the Lapse of Time, or by the Juncture of War, or both, great Numbers of them have been reduced.

The poor among them are hence forc'd to cry again for your Help at this time: And they presume also to promise themselves the same from your great Charity, and that from you, HER MAJESTY shall be informed of the pressing Necessity there is to recommend it to her British Parliament, in Order to the Relief of their extreme Poverty and Indigence. And this they are the more encouraged to, since under the late Reign the House of Commons did make no Scruple to acknowledge, and publicly notify, that all things consider'd these Poor were not any charge at all to the Nation: And since that the House of Lords also under the present happy Reign of her Majesty has declar'd to the Kingdom that the foreign Protestants are profitable to it.

Nevertheless, the Old, the Sick, the Widows, the Orphans, and all those who are uncapable among them to get their

Livelihood, being by long Continuance of the Persecution in the Country of their Nativity left destitute of everything, do here implore as with one common Voice the Pity of YOUR LORDSHIPS, and beseech your Help, so far at least as to request in their Favour from this charitable Nation the Conveniences of Life in so abounding a Country as this, where Providence has cast them.* And

**Your Lordship, will see their Number, Names, Ages, Qualities and Habitations by a New List that is a making.*

for as much as Human Nature has need of being sustained by Food and raiment no less in time of War than in time of Peace,

they hope that YOUR LORDSHIPS will be pleased, notwithstanding the great Occasions of the Nation, to solicit for them the Means whereby they may subsist, both now and hereafter; as being Objects spoil'd of their Goods, and all they had in the World, who have been constrained to forsake their ungrateful Country, because they would not bow the Knee to Baal.

For these Reasons and the Royal Declaration that I alledge, which never has been

altered, I take the Liberty to put this Book, which contains a short but faithful Recital of Matter of Fact, under the Protection of the Two most worthy Prelates of Europe. All the Refugees have experienced in general the Effects of your Christian Compassion and Generosity: They desire gratefully to acknowledge as much, both before God and before the World. What you, my Lords, have done for them so honourably, and so piously, they must all with one Mouth and one Heart needs own and confess. May YOUR LORDSHIPS continue to them always the same Good Will and Affection, and also survive their Miseries.

Now I cannot here mention their Acknowledgements, without being oblig'd to speak at the same time of your Benefactions: And here indeed would be the Place to publish them to the World, for the Promotion of Piety and Charity; but this I dare not undertake, but shall leave to some others to perform who can do it better. In the mean while least my Silence on this Head might be of bad Con-

10 *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

sequence and Example, I could not but give this small Hint: Tho' I forbear, YOUR LORDSHIPS may be assured there is no person has a deeper Sense than I of your eminent Qualities and Services in Favour both of Religion and of the State ; and am not the less for concealing my name.

YOUR LORDSHIPS,

Most Humble
Faithful and
Obedient Servant.



THE PREFACE.

This Book was first published in French in the Year 1686, and then Translated into English; a Copy whereof a Merchant of *London* sent to one of his brothers in *France*; and some time after acquainted him, that upon the instances of the French Ambassador at this Court, the same had been order'd to be burnt, and the Translator and Printer thereof almost ruin'd by Imprisonments and Fines, and that the Papists took a great deal of Care to suppress all the Copies, lest the Nation should be made acquainted with the Truths contained therein; where the Cruel-

ties exercis'd against the Protestants of *France*, who would not abjure their Religion, and embrace the Romish, are so truly represented: 'Twas at the same time that Preparations were making in order to put the same methods in practice against the Protestants in *England*, where the Pope kept openly a Nuncio, besides several Monks and Jesuits: There were also several Writers, as Sir Roger L'Estrange and others, imploy'd, and well paid, to assert that there was no Persecution in *France*, but contrariwise voluntary Conversions to the Romish Religion; And that as to the great number of People who left their Country to come over into this, under pretence of Religion, they did it only for private ends and self interest. But these Impostures were soon born down by the sight of so many poor Wretches that throng'd hither for Refuge from those dreadful calamities which were inflicted on them; The consideration of which made the Nation seriously think of

securing the Protestant Religion, which its Enemies design'd to destroy here as they had done in *France* and elsewhere.

Some Years after, the Gentleman who had received this Book in *English*, came over to augment the number of the Refugees in this Kingdom, and inquiring after it, 'twas impossible for him to light on any other Copy here: But having been told since, that the Anonymous Author, was that Excellent Man of God, the late Mr. *Claude*, Minister of Paris, who died in *Holland* soon after he had written this Book, by this means he got one in *French*; and very lately by the care of a * Reverend Divine, another in English, (perhaps the only one extant,) which being compar'd together, it appears, that the Translator for some regard he had to those times, when the Enemies of our Holy Religion were in great credit did designedly omit several matters of fact, and them the most important to the Cause of the Refugees; inso-

*Doctor Manningham.

much, that above the fourth part of it was cut off in the Translation; tho' the Translator far'd none the better for it.

Seeing then the great efforts made to suppress this Book, it the rather deserves to be preserv'd among Protestants to all Posterity. And for as much as the Refugees in this Kingdom durst not by reason of the strict Prohibition keep any of them, 'tis thought of the utmost Importance to revive it again, especially at this Juncture, which seems so much more favorable than the former, and to offer it intire as if it were a new Work to the Nation, according to the Refugees first intent, in which view it is now reprinted in both Languages, for the convenience of those that understand but one.

The Public will see that this Book is an Abridgment of the cruel and inhumane Persecution, exercis'd against the Protestants in *France* for several Years together, to the Prejudice of the Edict of *Nantes*, and its

dismal consequences to the beginning of the Year 1686. 'Tis likewise a solemn Protestation of above 150,000 Refugees in several Protestant States, who both for themselves and their Brethren, that could not escape the hands of the Dragoons, do call to Heaven and Earth for vengeance of the outrages done to them or their Relations, as also for the Cruelties still exercis'd against those that have the misfortune to be yet kept in Prisons, Dungeons, Convents, or Gallies, for the sake of their Religion, to the prejudice of Natural Rights, Treaties, Public Faith, Edicts, Promises and Oaths. 'Tis to be hoped there are other writers since Mr. *Claude*, who will have gather'd together the further Transactions relating to this subject, in order to transmit the Memory thereof to Posterity, inspight of the Disguises and Lies, the Authors of those Evils, and malicious Reports have spread abroad, by means of the Declarations and Subscriptions which they have

forc'd from those they persecuted, obliging 'em to say that their pretended Abjurations were voluntary. But these foul Imputations so well known to the Refugees in this Country, obliged them to challenge 'em as false, and to put this Question to their Enemies ; To what purpose (were things as you say) are the Passages by Sea and Land shut up, and guarded with so much Cost and Precaution, even against those that have given you such Declarations ? Why are so many Thousands of both Sexes come into this country ? 'Tis well known they will return this Answer, That the loss of those People is but inconsiderable to *France*, since there are only the poorer, and meaner sort that go away, for the Rich are so narrowly watch'd, that they cannot escape : But this is another notorious Falsehood, for on the contrary there are in genereal only those who had Money or Credit that could be at the vast Expenses necessary for their Escape, which is computed to amount to

at least 200,000 l. Sterling in *specie* paid to the Masters of English ships, merely for the passage of those that came over into this Country; and as for their Quality (without undervaluing in the least any of those that fled into others Countries) there are come hither a Duke, and a Mareschal of *France*, some Generals of Armies, a Dutchess, several Counts and Countesses, Marquises, and Marchionesses, Judges of Soverign Courts, Viscounts, Barons, Noblemen, and Gentlemen, Ladies and Gentlewomen, Men of Learning, Lawyers, Physicians, Substantial Merchants, Tradesmen of all sorts, and many Captains, Masters, Mariners, Gardners, and Husbandmen; besides the great number of Ministers who were banish'd that Kingdom, with orders, to depart forthwith upon pain of the Gallies. These are the Persons who are said to be of little Consequence; whilst their Enemies do say in other places, that the loss is irreparable. Now its plain on the one hand, that the love of

one's Country, Estate, Settlement, Relations, Friends, plenty of Wine and other enjoyments of this Life are very strong tyes; from whence it must be confess'd on the other hand, that there must be some stronger Motives to induce such Multitudes to forsake all the afore-mentioned Advantages, and seek an *Azilum* in Foreign-Countries and unknown Languages, against the persecutions of an ungrateful Country, where one is not allowed to Worship God according to ones Conscience, as the Author of this Book has manifestly evidenc'd. This is nevertheless the dismal Lot of the Refugees, and were this a proper Place to speak of the Hazards, Shipwrecks, and Dangers which so many Thousands have been expos'd to, and how many have perish'd before they arriv'd in this free Country, no doubt but the Reader would pass a Charitable Judgement upon those that are come over; But this would require a Volume by itself; however, to hear the Emissaries of

Rome, who do not stick impudently to affirm it, one would think there had never been any Persecution in *France*, or at least if there had, that it has ceased, seeing they say, that there are now no Protestants left; which they endeavour the more to insinuate in this time of War, when all Correspondence is intirely cut off. 'Tis therefore the Duty of those that are here, to refute that falsehood, by asserting real and sensible matters of fact, such as may convince the World, and *Great Britain* in particular, that since the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*, the Reformed of *France* have continually being persecuted; For, not to speak of the Slaughters committed in the *Cevennes*, nor of what has passed elsewhere, but only of certain matters of fact which have happened since the Death of the Author of this Book, as may be proved by Persons living here, and transacted in a little District of the *Parliament* of *Guienne*, (reputed to be one of the most indulgent of that Kingdom in

point of Religion, by reason of the Trade of that Country with the Northern Protestants,) one may there by judge, whether there is still such a thing as a Persecution in *France*. To which end, the Paptists in this kingdom are desir'd to address themselves to *Martha Guisard* living in *Frith-Street Soho*. She will tell them that she came out of *France*, because *John Guisard* her Father was Burnt at *Nera*, being accused of having irreverently receiv'd the Cost. Let them speak to Mrs. *Tinel*, Wife of a French Minster at *Bristol*, and to his Sister in Law, they will tell them, that the *Sieur* * *Mar-gueron* their Father was Hang'd at *Ste. Foy*, for having held a Religious Assembly in his House, his Estate was confiscated and the House pulled down, their Mother condemned to make *Amende Honourable*, her head shav'd by the Hangman, bare-footed, and in her Shift, holding in her hand a lighted Torch,

* *The History of his Edifying Death is to be Sold at the Widow Baldwin in Warwick-Lane.*

and afterwards to a perpetual Imprisonment; and that they escaped the like Severities by their flight into this Kingdom, with their Brother since kill'd in Our Army. Let them ask of the *Sieur Peyferie* and his family, what made them a great Estate, to be reduc'd to great Streights in *Tower-street in Soho*? He will answer that being accused with some Neighbours of his, of having exercis'd his Religion in his Country-house, he was condemned to be hang'd, his House demolished, and his Woods destroy'd, but God of his mercy deliver'd him from that danger: Let them inquire of Mrs. *Charlotte*, and Mrs. *Mary*, Daughters of the *Sieur de la Ramiers*, who died in the Service of England? They will tell them that his Castle was pull'd down, and his Woods destroy'd, for having held there a Religious Assembly. The *Sieurs Dupre*, and *Moses du Boust*, now living in the Parish of *St. Giles in the Fields*, will testify, that they were persecuted in their Persons and Estates, their

Houses demolished before they fled into this Country, where they are necessitated to live upon the Charity of the Nation, the one being 80 years old, and the other grown Invalid in our Army; *Martha Trapeau* and *Mary Labe* living in Soho will answer: That being Sick they received a visit from the Priest and Magistrate, to whom they declar'd, that notwithstanding they had through their persecution, been forced to abjure their Religion, they were resolv'd however to die in it; but being recovered, they were condemned to make *Amende Honourable*, and to be perpetually confined in the Manufacture of *Bourdeaux*, from whence they made their escape to the great danger of their Lives. 'Tis into the same place of Torment that *Olympe Passe-laigne* of *Bergerac*, *Joan Darrat*, and *Joan* her Sister of *Faugerolles*, *Joan Groux*, *Judith Chabot*, *Catherine Mulb*, the two *Mrs. Gorinx*, *Martha Cove*, and others now here, to the number of 18 were confin'd for en-

deavouring to fly from the Persecution, having had the misfortune to be taken going out of *France*, from whence they afterwards made their escape in the Night through the Windows; as for the Men, if any of them are surpris'd making their escape; 'tis *Amende Honourable* and the *Galleys*, and the *Sieurs Constans* and *Bessete of Duras* have undergone that punishment for assisting in the Assembly with the *Sieur Margueron*, and do there keep company to a great many others that suffer Persecution for the Cause of Religion. The *Sieur Augier of Casteljaloux*, who Died in the Fortress of *Blaye*, is also an example of the Rigor exercis'd by the Persecutors.

To shew how they still deal in *France* with the Protestants, here is an undeniable matter of fact, *Mary Perreau* living in Spittlefields, will tell you, that she was married at *Plymouth* to *Peter Perreau* a French Pilot, who a Month after their marriage being Sail'd for the

Straights was taken, and carried into *France*, where he was condemned to the Gallies for 101 Years. Since then as 'tis Death or the Gallies for the Men who refuse to change their Religion, or, are found making their escape, so 'tis *Amende Honourable* and perpetual Imprisonment for the Women, where a great number have Dyed, among others the Illustrious Wife of the Holy Martyr the *Sieur Margueron*, and lately the Confessors Mrs. *La Serre*, and Mrs. *Gentillot*; the Prisons continue still filled with Women, some of which have been above 20 Years in the Town-house of *Bordeaux*, glorifying God by their Sufferings; and amongst others, Mrs. *Villotes* a Gentlewoman of 80 Years of age, that has a Daughther living in Soho, *Claudine le May*, and *Joan* her Daughter, Mrs. *Barbot*, Mrs. *Charlemont*, and a great many more do sufficiently testify, that were it not for the Persecution, so many Persons would hardly be kept in Prison.

These are living Witnesses for

such as desire to be further satisfied of the Truth, and this small number (which might be infinitely increased), its hop'd will suffice both to manifest the Truth, and to confute the Malice of those who are endeavouring to subvert it by their false slanders against the Refugees; As for instance they gave out sometime since that all the Protestants in *France* went to Mass, and were really converted to the Romish Religion; than which nothing is more notoriously false, for proof whereof one needs only observe, that the present War having necessitated the raising the Militia in *France*; Personal Taxes have been laid on the Protestants who refuse to go to Mass, which serves as a Fund for the Payment of the said Militia. So that the Clergy of *France*, who had promis'd the French King to extirpate the Protestant Religion, and to make the Romish triumph, have done the quite contrary: For let them Banish the Ministers, Prohibit the Assemblies,

Exile 'em and inflict even Death itself, if they please, this doth not destroy Religion, but only as it were cuts off those rivulets whose Springs remain, for they cannot Banish the Light of the Reform'd, nor hinder the Consolation of the Holy Ghost.

But say they, the Persecutors do not now use Rigors, they will instruct the Reform'd by Degrees, who being once well instructed, will have no repugnance to remain in the Romish Church. This is a great mistake, the Reformed are not desirous of Instructions from such Ministers; let them be told never so often, that their Ministers have misrepresented the Romish Religion, and that they are to harken to their Converters who will give them a right Information of it, to this they will readily answer, we are not so to be Instructed by you, for the Edicts and Declarations you have obtained from the King against us, our Ministers Banish'd at your solicitations our Brethren condemned to the Galleys, and

to Death by your Persecutions, the Cruelties exercis'd against us by the Dragoons, all your Treacheries, Injustices, and Cruelties do sufficiently shew us what your Religion and Faith is, and plainly convinces us, that it is not from God, what Profession soever you pretend to make of Christianity. Let this suffice to be said in justification of the Protestants that still remain in *France*, under the longest and sharpest Persecution that ever was heard of, and in which Fraud and Imposture are countenanced by force, and this is the reason the matters of fact here-mentioned have been produced from one little part of the Kingdom only, because they may so easily be proved here *Viva Voce*. And then let any one judge what is transacted in other Places, where the Protestants are us'd with greater severity. And by the way one may here see the Causes and Motives, of the depopulating of *France*, and the Reasons why so many Thousands fled into Protestant Coun-

tries to shelter themselves, from the Injuries their Brethren are still expos'd to.

Having now represented the several Qualities of the French Refugees in this Kingdom, (who must not be suppos'd to be of higher rank than those that have taken Sanctuary in other Countries), it may confidently be affirm'd that such an increase of People, is an advantageous Acquisition to this Kingdom, for they were not all poor as is well known at the Exchequer, and Royal Exchange, especially, if we give any credit to the Computation that has been made in *France*, of what they brought over, and of the loss that Kingdom has sustain'd. 'Tis confidently reported there, that sometime before the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*, and during the great Persecution, many Protestants foreseeing the Misfortunes likely to befall 'em, sent away a great part of their Estate out of *France*, insomuch that it's computed, the Refugees, one

with another, either in Money, Goods, Jewels or other movables, have brought over at least the value of one Hundred Pounds Sterling, whereby that Nation is so much impoverish'd in its Funds, (which it has so much wanted since) to this they add; that of necessary Consumption which is reckoned at 7 l. Sterling *per Head per Annum*; and therefore by the Rule of contraries, that Country whither they have transplanted themselves, is by so much the gainer. However 'tis hop'd none will be so uncharitable as to doubt, that out of Gratitude as well as Affection, the Refugees are intirely devoted to the Nation that has receiv'd 'em with so much Humanity. This will appear if it be consider'd how great a share they had in the Reduction of *Ireland*, where upwards of 7000 of them perish'd either by Sword or Sickness, which must otherwise have fallen upon the English; Some of the Refugees have endeavoured to subsist both by liberal

and mechanic Arts, and Husbandry, but above all by their mutual Trade and Correspondence with their Acquaintance and Friends that have settled in others Countries, as in *Switzerland, Geneva, Germany, Holland* and the Northern Crowns, which has much increas'd all the Revenues of this Kingdom, and given a greater blow to *France*, than six Civil Wars could other ways have done, and at the same time have procur'd to this Kingdom in particular, A real and lasting advantage, as the House of Lords, was pleased to take notice in a Conference with the Commons, about the Bill for preventing

**Printed
in February
1703.*

Occasional Conformity, in the words following page (24) * *As to the Foreign Protestants, there is great reason to*

give them all just encouragement, for as they have brought among us many New Manufactures, so they have carried them so far, that of late years we have exported to the value of a Million of Woollen Manufactures, more than was done in King Charles's

Reign, before they came among us; and the putting them under Apprehensions or Discouragements, may be a means to drive them to a Country where they are sure of an intire Liberty. The Lords add, We have felt the happy effects of the liberty granted them in the last Reign, and it is to be hoped, that nothing will be done in this to impeach that, or to raise Apprehensions and Fears in the minds of Men, that are so useful to us in the most important Article of our Trade.

The opinion of that Noble House, who have thus eminently stood up for the Refugees, ought one would think to have silenced that multitude of malicious Libels that are daily Publish'd against 'em, whose Authors have so little modesty as to affirm, that the French are come over for want of means of subsistence, and not out of Zeal for Religion; which Calumny the English Tradesmen magnify exceedingly because they say, that the French Refugees work cheaper than they do. Now supposing

that were true; it can be no damage in the least, even to them that complain; For if a Shoemaker, for example, get 3 or 4 Pence less in a Pair of Shoes, he on the other hand will save that in his Gloves, and much more in his Hat, which by the same reason will be render'd as cheap in proportion, and so of all other things. But if any one would contest this matter farther, we shall leave their justification to the Landlords of those Houses that have been built since their coming over, the Rent of which by a modest Computation cannot amount to less than 80,000l. yearly, and they without doubt will affirm that their Refugee Tenants are no ways prejudicial to the Nation, for those of 'em that subsist of themselves, relieve to the utmost of their Power such of their Brethren as are necessitous, and readily pay both Parish and National Taxes; They have most of them been Naturaliz'd, tho' at their own proper Charges, and pay the Rent of their Churches, and

the Salaries of their Ministers, Readers and Schoolmasters, whereas in other Countries, especially in *Holland*, the Refugees are naturaliz'd *gratis*, they have the Freedom of keeping Shops, and exercising their respective Callings, and have been supplied with above 100 Churches, either in the United Provinces, or in *Germany*, at the charge of the States General, who very far from suffering 'em to pay the Ministers of the Country, where they reside, do themselves pay the stipends of the Refugee Ministers, Readers and Schoolmasters, which are very considerable. But what is yet more to their advantage is, that since the Persecution which hath lasted now above 21 Years, most of which time the States General have in Conjunction with this Kingdom, being engaged in an Expensive War against *France*; not one Refugee in *Holland* has ever pay'd one Farthing for his Personal Estate or Stock in Trade. One might enlarge very much on this sub-

ject, were it not fear'd that the Libellers would insinuate from hence, as tho' the Refugees complained, whereas they are so far from it, that 'tis unwillingly they are forc'd to instance in these things, to defend themselves against those that endeavor to asperse them, with the taking away the Bread out of Englishmen's Mouths, in order to render them odious to the common People; 'Tis also in that view alone the Refugees alledge the advantagious settlement of their Brethren in *Brandenbourg*, the History whereof has been printed at *Berlin*, by *Robert Roger*, in 1690, which shews they believe in that Country that the Refugees are a very great Benefit to them, seeing his *Prussian* Majesty is not content only to favour them in his own Dominions, but likewise causes his Ambassadors in other Protestant Courts to make * Collects in the behalf of all such Protestants as take Refuge in his Countries.

** Her Majesty's Brief for the Protestants of the Principality of Orange, Owned Subjects of his Prussian Majesty, Dated the 17 November, 1703.*

If therefore all Politicians agree, that multitudes of People make the Glory of Kings, and the Riches of a country, why are then so many Libels suffer'd here to be Publish'd in opposition to those General Maxims? The Refugees think themselves under an obligation to declare it, and let the Publick know, that this Evil proceeds from the Enemies of their Religion; some unquestionable Proofs whereof shall be brought hereafter: But first 'tis proper to give an Account of a very remarkable thing that happened in the Year 1664. Some Popish Villages of the *District of Lalew* in the Low Countries Corresponding with *Amsterdam*, and coming accidentally by some Books of Controversy, were soon perswaded of the Falsehood of the Popish Religion, and thereupon forsook it, which the Curates perceiving made their complaints to the Bishop, and the Bishop to the French King, after several Citations, Sentence was pronounced, that they should either go

to Mass, or leave the Country, those Pious Christians rather chose the latter; at which King *Charles II.* was pleas'd to order Deputies to be sent thither to invite them over into *England*, and to make 'em very advantageous offers, besides the defraying their Charges; But the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, the States of *Holland*, and the Electors *Palatine*, *Saxony* and *Brandenbourg*, having at the same time sent their Deputies, the Conditions offer'd on the part of the Elector * *Palatine* being

**Privileges
granted to the
Exiles of Lalew,
in 17 Articles by
Charles Lewis
Earl Palatine,
5 August 1664.*

more advantageous than others, they Settled in his Country to the number of 1800 Men, Women, and Children, Tradesmen and Husbandmen, destitute of

everything. But by reason of the late Wars in the *Palatinate*, and the destruction of *Billigheim*, they were obliged to leave that Country and settle in *Pomerania*, where they now are. This may serve to confute the

unthinking Libellers; for no sufficient reason can be given why such numbers of Protestants as come over of themselves should be less esteem'd than those who are invited by great Offers. For they as well as these encrease the Consumption of our Manufactures and Products, especially that of Corn, and thereby save the Five Shillings *per* Quarter on what they consume, which would otherwise be paid on Exportation; Add to this the Sentiments of *Sr. Thomas Culpeper* in his Political Treatise, *Sr. William Petty* in his Political Arithmetic, *Sr. Josiah Child* in his new discourse of Trade, and *Sr. Francis Brewster* in his Essays on Trade, wherein its manifest all their efforts chiefly aim at inculcating the absolute necessity of an increase of People, which they say is the Source of Riches, and confess that this Nation being under-peopled stands in need of being Recruited.

It has already been said that the Refugees to testify their Acknow-

ledgements have readily exposed themselves to the perils of War, and that in the Reduction of *Ireland* above 7000 of 'em have perished; which must once more be repeated, because 'tis the sad Spring from whence proceeds the great number of Sick and Maimed Persons, Widows, and Orphans, that have lost their Husbands, Fathers, Brothers and other Relations, who during their Lives supplied their Wants, besides several Old Gentlemen, Old Ministers, and their Wives, who in Process of time being grown weak and out of employment, after having spent all they had saved out of *France*, are reduc'd to the necessity of begging the Public Charity of the Nation, and because 'tis these that are the most expos'd to the continual Machinations of their Enemies, let this Preface inform the Reader of what perhaps he may be unacquainted with, which is the manner of their subsistence; since a more favorable opportunity will hardly ever offer it self, than the pres-

ent Publication of their Complaints against their Country-men. And to this purpose 'tis necessary to remind him of what pass'd in the Sessions of Parliament in 1695, when those Poor People presented a petition to the House of Commons, whereupon a Committee was appointed, in which upon the examination of their several Qualities, Ages and Callings; 'twas found that the number of Old Gentlemen, and Ministers, their Wives, Children, Widows and Orphans, was then 2460 Persons worthy of the Public Charity of the Nation, as appears by the Committee's Report to the House, containing the Declarations of King Charles the II. of the 28th of *July* 1681, and of King *William* and Queen *Mary* of the 25th of April 1689. mentioned in the said Report, importing, *That the French Protestants having been invited with great promises of assistance, to come hither, it were a great scandal to the Government and Religion, if they were not speedily relieved, and that it would be strange if*

this Nation should suffer itself to be outdone by their Neighbours in so excellent a work, seeing, that what Charity soever is bestow'd upon them (besides the Blessing that redounds from it) the Nation is ne'er the Poorer since it receives it back by Consumption as fast as it is given. In consideration of which Report the House of Commons Voted 15000*l.* Sterling *per Annum* for the subsistence of those Poor Refugees. But 3000*l.* being appointed for the Ministers out of the said sum, there remain'd but 12000*l.* for the Laity, both here and in *Ireland*, which being then Paid in Remote Taillys and Malt Tickets, and the same being ordered to be Sold by the Lords appointed for regulating the Manner of distributing the Charity of the Nation. There was in 1696, 1697, and 1698, lost by them 6559*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* which deprived the Poor of Seven Months Subsistence, during which time they were obliged to Borrow, what they could without having any prospect of repaying the same, unless

the Deficiency upon the Tallies should be made good, which as it was never done, has increas'd their Number. This is the Account of what pass'd in Parliament, one might add to the Misfortune of that Deficiency, a yet heavier loss for the Poor French Refugees, which is that they did not receive the Charity of the Nation, the Year King *William* died, which was then due and never paid, (the Warrant for which is yet unsatisfied;) Which losses inevitably oblig'd 'em to contract Debts for their daily Sustenance, which being wholly unable to satisfy their Creditors, many of them have acted rigourously to the utter ruin of such as were left destitute by these unexpected Deficiencies, which together with the Continuation of the War, and the Calamities that attend it have so increas'd their Misery, that by a List newly Publish'd by Order of His Grace the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Bishop of *London*, containing the Quality, Age, Sex and Habitation of every one, it

appears that from the Year 1696, and the Report then made to this present time, they are increas'd to more than double the Number, and that for some Years the 12000l. has not been sufficient to pay the rent of their Lodgings, and besides most of them being Old and Sick, let any one imagine the straights these Poor People are reduc'd to, (which is not fit to be Publish'd) and what Assistance can they expect from the other Refugees, who according to the Enemies Computation, have so little for themselves as will hardly suffice to maintain them; so that unless some more effectual means be found out for their Support, their Numbers without a miracle must daily increase; for humanly speaking, tho' the Refugees should exceed the * *Macedonians* in Charity to one another, nothing is to be expected but an addition of Misery. But there is reason to expect better things from this Charitable Nation, when with their wonted Compassion, they will be

* 2 *Cor.* 8.
2, 3.

pleased to take notice of the great occasion there is of exercising their Clemency towards such a number of miserable Objects, it being to be hop'd there are many who will follow the example of the Right Honorable Mr. Secretary *Harley*, whose Kindnesses and Charitable Offices proceeding from meer motives of Religion and Humanity towards these Poor Sufferers, they have often felt the good effects of, as well as of so many other Worthy Members of Parliament, who know, *That giving to the Poor is lending unto the Lord.**

It has already been observ'd that the Enemies of the Reformed Religion are those Libellers who are always endeavoring to propagate that of *Rome*, and strive to render the condition of the French Protestants bitter and grievous, they have Emissaries who make it their Business to descend from the general, even to the particular Persons of the Poor, whom they attack with grievous Calumnies, Reproaching them with having left

* Proverbs, *chapter 19, verse 17.*

their Wooden Shoes, and the Garlick and Onions they lived upon, to come hither to live at ease, and rob *Greenwich* Hospital, and the Widows, and Orphans of the Nation, of the Charities which they so much better deserve, and are now bereft of, by their being bestowed on such unworthy People. Thus they endeavor to deprive them of all manner of comfort, that they may be obliged to return to *France*, whilst on the other hand they make the Ways and means of repairing thither, very easy to such as are willing to go. Several instances of such Intrigues might be brought whereby they have enticed away many Children, who in *France* are put in Possession of the whole Estate of the Family, provided they abjure their Religion. Those Emissaries of *Rome* pretend to do those Evils that Good may come of it, but that is to accumulate Crime upon Crime, one of their Creatures had the Confidence to present a Petition to Her Majesty, and to his Grace the Lord Arch-

bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Bishop of *London*, importing that the French Committee appointed by the Lords Commissioners for distributing the Public Charity, were false to their Trust, beseeching Her Majesty to give him leave to secure their Persons, and that in the meantime the Charity of the Nation should be suspended; Upon this and such like Representations Her Majesty was pleased to order Sr. *Owen Buckingham* the then Lord Mayor to Summon the English Committee to Examine the Matter, and make their Report. The Person thereupon appearing before them could not make out the least appearance of Misdemeanor in the French Committee, and finding that the * Report would not be in his favour, and that Her Majesty had order'd the Attorney General to prosecute him, he made his escape beyond Sea, since which it was discover'd that he was a Papist in disguise, that fled from *Piedmont* for having killed a Priest; and his

* Report made the 26th July, 1705.

wife confess'd that he was to receive a Reward, could he have compass'd the Design of annulling the French Committee, which consist of Persons beyond all Suspicion, who give an exact Account of their Administration to the English Commissioners, who both the one and the other employ their Time, Care and Pains from no other Principle than their Duty to God and Charity to their poor Brethren, and yet such Representations, false as they are, having pass'd for current without any defence from afflicted Innocence, have proved of dangerous Consequence; for it hath been observed for some Years past, that the Charitable Example of several Worthy Christians, who have formerly left Gifts and Legacies at their Death, is very little followed at this time when there is so great an occasion for it, the Disuse of which Laudable Custom is in a great measure attributed to the subtle and crafty Insinuations of the Emisseries of *France* and *Rome*, who leave

no means unattempted for the Destruction of the Refugees, whilst the Popish Tenet of the Merit of Good Works by the Pope's Indulgencies, and the Priests' Exhortations, is an almost incredible Support to the necessitous English and Irish Papists in *France*.

To sum up all from what has been said, 'tis to be hop'd no one will suffer himself any longer to be prejudiced against the Poor Refugees; But that all will submit to the favourable Declarations of those August Bodies the Houses of Lords and Commons, that so the great number of poor Members of Jesus Christ, who have escaped the Persecution and now implore the Charity of the Nation in a manner proportionable to their Wants, should live comfortably and Die in Peace, which might be effected, could it be contrived that each of Her Majesty's Subjects in *England* should give but a Penny every Year towards their Relief, (and that would suffice them,) which would not in the least be felt, if it be considered that

it would all be spent here; besides as most of them are old and sickly, Death, humanly speaking, will in a very little time rid the Nation of them, and the Younger of them, who do not remember *France*, but with Sentiments of Resentment, are daily blended among the English; Inso-much, that after the present War is ended, there should be liberty of returning, there are few will go back, but those that now seem to be chargeable to the Nation, and have left great Estates there, but their Number will be compensated doubly by the Parents and Friends of those that shall remain, who will be induced to come hither, where joyning with those whose Abilities and Talents permit 'em to enjoy the Happiness and Liberty they find, under the Reign of Her most Sacred Majesty, will altogether esteem it their Glory and Felicity to live here, and be faithful and zealous Subjects of the Country that has been their Sanctuary, and thereby encrease the Power and Glory and Riches thereof.

A
SHORT ACCOUNT
Of the COMPLAINTS,
AND
Cruel PERSECUTIONS
OF THE
PROTESTANTS
IN THE
KINGDOM of FRANCE.

The Barbarities committed of late against the Protestants of *France*, must appear so detestable to all who have not quite divested themselves of Humanity, and are such terrible Prodigies of Fury and Iniquity, as 'tis not to be wonder'd they who have

been the Authors thereof, should use all sort of means to extenuate as much as they can and to their utmost endeavours keep from the knowledge of the Publick the down right Truth of the matter. Did we not know that this was a project, which they for a great while together, had concerted, and plotted, and into which after long Deliberation they had purposely introduced all those Injust Passions, which have therein appeared in all their Colours, we might possibly then say, that this their extenuation might be a mark of the tacit condemnation of what they had done, and suppose this their palliating an acknowledgment of their own Displeasure at it.

But when Men Act in cold Blood, and with a premeditated fury, how extravagant soever their Actions are, it is not usual for them to repent of 'em, 'tis therefore better to say, that if this be not an effect of some remains of shame, and remorse of Conscience, we may suppose at least 'tis out of

some respect and regard to the World, which do's not permit 'em to expose to its View, those violences in their true and natural Form, but on the contrary obliges them to disguise 'em in order to diminish their horror.

But whatever fine gloss may be set on these Proceedings, it must be however confessed, that it is an unconceivable Impudence thus to pretend to impose on the whole World in matters of fact, so certain and so publick as those are, and to endeavour to put a cheat upon all Europe, as to Transactions known, not barely by *Gazettes*, or by Publick Prints, but which is much more authentick, by an almost infinite Number of the very Persons themselves of all Ranks, who are escaped, to set before the Eyes of the remotest Nations their Miseries and Calamities: Nay, it cannot be denied, but that after having so terribly overwhelm'd Innocent People in their own Country, it is beyond Barbarity it self, to endeavour to stifle their Complaints in other

Countries whither they are driven. And by this means deprive them of a Compassion which even the bare Instincts of Nature, never refuse to the miserable. However, this is the course our Persecutors in *France* hold at this Day. Cruelty by their Order marcheth first, and then Imposture followeth after; That so all the Mischief which Cruelty hath brought forth, Imposture at the Heels of it may not only cover over, but likewise aggravate; to the end that the objects of their Fury may be left destitute of every Remedy, or Relief, be it never so small.

It were not reasonable to suffer them to go on, in this *Second* design, as they have done in the *First*; and therefore, till a more exact Account may be given of all the Particulars transacted in the different Acts of this Trajedy, we shall choose some principal Instances upon which we shall make such Reflections, as will enable the World to pass an equitable and impartial Judgment on the

whole Proceeding. And as we shall say nothing as to matters of fact, but what is certainly and notoriously known; So we shall advance nothing in our Reflections, but what all, even of the meanest Capacity, may easily comprehend.

To begin with matters of fact; there is no Body but knows, that a little after his present Majesty of *France* came to the Crown, there arose in the Kingdom a Civil War, which proved so sharp and desperate, as brought the State within a Hair's breadth of utter Ruin. 'Tis also well known, that in the midst of all these Troubles, those of the Reformed Religion still kept their Loyalty so inviolable, and accompanied it with such a Zeal, and with a fervour so extraordinary, and so successful, that the King found himself oblig'd to give Publick Marks of it, by a Declaration made at *St. Germains*, in the Year 1652. Then as well at Court as in the Armies, each strove to proclaim loudest the Merits of the Reformed, and even the Queen Mother

herself was the first who set the Example, readily acknowledging, that they had indeed preserv'd the State. This is known by all; but 'twill hardly be believed, though it be too true, what our very Enemies themselves have an Hundred times told us; and which the sequel has but too shrewdly confirmed, that this was precisely the principal and most essential Cause of our Ruin, and of all the Mischiefs which we have since suffer'd; For endeavours were used to envenom all these important Services in the King's and his Ministers' minds, by perswading them, that if on this Occasion this Party could preserve the State, this sheweth they could likewise have overthrown it, had they ranked themselves on the other side? and might still easily do it if such a like Occasion should again offer itself. That therefore this party must by all means be crush'd, and the good they have done utterly disregarded, and look't on only, as an Indication of the Evil

which they may one Day be capable of doing.

Now, that this way of reasoning which refines upon all that is most malicious and Diabolical, and proceeds, even so far as to hinder the Subjects from discharging their Duty to their Sovereign for fear of drawing on themselves thereby Punishments instead of the R^ecompenses which they might reasonably expect, should be relished as a piece of most excellent Policy, is that, which we could never have thought, had we not been convinced by experience; For as soon as the Kingdom was settl'd in Peace, the design of destroying the Reformed was resolv'd on, and the better to make 'em comprehend that their Loyalty had ruin'd them, those Cities which had shewed most of it, were first begun with. Immediately then, on slight pretenses, they fell furiously on *Rochel*, *Montaubau*, and *Millau*, these three towns, where those of the Reformed Religion had most signalized themselves for the Interests of the Court; *Rochel* under-

went an incredible number of Proscriptions, *Montaubau* and *Millau* were sack'd by the Soldiers.

But these being but particular stroaks and meer Preludes as it were, which decided nothing; They tarried not long before they made appear the great and general Machines, they were to use in the carrying on of their intended design to the last extremity. It would be too difficult a matter to give an exact Account of all these several Methods and Engines, the number of them was so prodigiously multiplied: For never did Humane Malice before produce such a Fertil Crop of them, every Day bringing forth new ones for Twenty Years together, and the Fund thereof all the while never exhausted. To take only notice therefore of the Chief of them, and such as were most obvious to every Eye; they may be reduced to these Six Orders. 1. Those which relate to the vexatious Suits and Trials in the ordinary course of Judicature. 2. Those which concern the Deprivation

from all kinds of Offices and Employments, and from all other ways of Subsistence. 3. The Infractions of the Edict of *Nantes*, under the Notion and Title of Explications. 4. New Laws and new Regulations. 5. Juggling contrivances and tricking Amusements. 6. And lastly, those which had for their end the animating of People, and inspiring them with hatred and animosity against us. These are the most considerable means which the Persecutors have employed to attain their Ends, and the Paths which they have chosen to tread in for several Years; *I say for several Years.* for what they had in Prospect being no easy matter, they needed therefore time to order their Engines, and dispose their Materials; not to take notice of their Traverses also, and Interruptions by some Foreign Wars, whose success did not a little contribute to blow up their courage, and to confirm them in the design which they had formed against us.

** First Method
of Persecution.*

* The First of these Means has had an almost infinite extent, as

would easily appear if we should make a recital of all the Condemnations of Churches, or Suppressions of the Exercises of Religion, with all the other Vexations which have been brought about by the establishing of Commissioners of both Religions.

This Appointment of Commissioners out of both the Religions was a Snare the most Dextrously contriv'd that could be, for, immediately after the *Pirenean* Treaty, the King under pretense of redressing the Contraventions against the Edict of *Nantes*, establish'd them in the several Provinces. The Roman Catholic Commissioner was every where his Majesty's Intendant; who was to be sure a fit Man for the purpose, arm'd with all the regal Authority, and well instructed in the Secret. The other, was either some hungry Officer a Pensioner to the Court, or at best some Poor Gentleman, who had usu-

ally neither the Understanding requisite in these sorts of Affairs, nor the Liberty of Speaking his Mind. The Clergy who had set them up, were the Spring that made them move or lie still at pleasure. The Syndicks were received before them as formal Parties in all our Affairs; the Assignations were given in their Name, the Persecutions also, and as well the Judgments of the Commissioners when they were divided, as the Appeals from their Ordinances, were finally to be decided in the King's Council.

Thus in general all the Priviledges of the Churches, as well with Relation to the Exercise of Religion, the places of Publick Worship, and the Rights of Burial, as all other dependencies were called in Question, and consequently exposed to the fresh Pursuits of the Clergy, and the ill Intention of the Judges. In which there was not the least spark of Equity, for the Edict having been once executed, according to the In-

tention of him that gave it, there needed no second touches; it being moreover wholly unlikely those of the Reformed Religion, who had been ever in the Kingdom the suffering Party, could usurp anything therein, and extend its Limits beyond what belonged to them. But the providing against the Contraventions was the least of their Intention; and therefore by this Order, the greatest part of the Churches, cited for the Justifying of their Rights, saw themselves soon condemned one after another, by Decrees of Council, how good and sufficient soever their Titles and Defences were. Scarcely passed there a Week, wherein these kind of Decrees were not made; and if it so happen'd that at any time the Judges for very shame, saved any of them, through the great Evidence of their Right, as this sometimes happened; besides that the number was small in comparison of those that were condemned, the Judges often received express Orders to pass Sentence against

them, when they declared they could not do it with a safe conscience.

But the Oppressions of this kind did not terminate in the bare Condemnation of Churches; for particular Persons bore likewise their part. In ordinary and Civil Affairs, where the Matter was concerning, *Meum* and *Tuum* as perhaps a piece of Land, an House or a Debt between a Roman Catholick and a person of the Reformed Religion, Religion was always one of the chief Heads of the Accusation. The Monks, the Missionaries, the Confessors, and all the whole tribe of that Crew, interested themselves in the Affair. And in Courts of Justice all the cry was; *I Plead against an Heritick, I have to do with a Man of a Religion odious to the State, and which the King is resolved to extirpate.*

By this means, there was very little Justice to be expected, few Judges were proof against this false Zeal, for fear of drawing the Fury of the whole Cabal against them, or passing for

favourers of Heriticks. 'Tis not to be imagined how many unjust Sentences these sorts of Prejudices have procur'd, in all the Courts of the Kingdom; and how many families have been ruined by 'em. And whenever any one complained, the Answer was ready. *You have the Remedy in your own Hands; why do you not turn Catholick?*

Yet all this had been nothing had the Persecution stopp'd here, and not proceeded to fasten on the Reputation, the Liberty, and even the very Lives of Persons, by a general Inundation (as, one may term it,) of criminal Processes and oppressive Trials. Orders were Printed at *Paris*, and sent from thence to all Cities and Parishes of the Kingdom, which impowered the Parochial Priests, Church-wardens and others, to make an exact inquiry into whatsoever any of the pretended Reformed might have done or said for Twenty Years past, as well on the subject of Religion, as otherwise, to make Informa-

tion of this before the Justices of the Place, and Punish them to the utmost extremity. Thence have we seen for several Years in execution of these Orders, the Prisons and Dungeons every where fill'd with these kind of Criminals. Neither were false Witnesses lacking; But that which was most detestable was, that though the Judges were sufficiently convinced they were Knights of the Post, yet they maintained them, and carry'd them through such Points, as they knew to be palpably false.

Upon the Testimony of such Witnesses, and these too sufficiently known to be so, they frequently condemn'd the most Innocent and Worthiest Persons to be whipt, to the Gallies, to Banishment, and *Amende Honorable*. And if ever any Spark either of Honor or Conscience did at any time herein stop their hand, there was always however a full Impunity for those false Witnesses.

This kind of Persecution fell chiefly on the Ministers; for of a long time they might not Preach, without hav-

ing for Auditors, or to speak better Observators, a Troop of Priests, Monks, and Missionaries, and such kind of People, who made no scruple to charge them with Words, which they not so much as thought of; and to turn others into a quite contrary meaning. They also went so far as to divine the very Thoughts, that so they might charge them with Crimes; for as soon as ever any Minister spake but of *Egypt*, of *Pharaoh*, of the *Israelites*, of the *Godly* or the *Wicked* (as it was difficult not to speak of these Matters, when they explained the Scripture) those Spies never failed to report, that by *Egypt*, and by the *Wicked*, they meant the *Catholicks*, by *Pharaoh*, the *King*, by the *Israelites* the *pretended Reformed*. The Judges seemed to believe it, and fell in with it, and what is yet most surprising, the Ministers of State themselves respected these presumptive Interpretations, as so many evident Proofs. On these grounds, the Magistrates filled the Prisons with these poor People, keeping them

therein for whole Years together and often inflicted on them also several corporal Punishments.

*'Tis already seen by this first kind of Persecution, what were the

** Second Method
of Persecution.*

Usages in *France* towards the Reformed before they came to the utmost Violence. But we shall see them appear more evidently, in what we have to add, touching the Privation of Offices and Employs, and in general of the means of gaining their Livelihood; which is the second Way we mentioned, that has been used to effect their Ruine. 'Tis not hard to comprehend, that in a great Kingdom as *France* is, where the Protestants were dispersed, over all Parts, there was a vast Number, who could not subsist or maintain their Families, but by the Privilege of serving the Publick, either in Offices, Arts, Trades, or Faculties, each according to his respective Calling. *Henry* the Great was so well convinc'd of the Necessity and Justice of this, that he made it an express Arti-

cle, the most distinct perhaps and formal, of any contained in his Edict. And therefore in this Point the Persecutors the most exerted themselves, and stuck at nothing to compass their End.

'Twas in this View they began with the Freedom of Companies and handicraft Trades; - which under several pretences, they rendered almost inaccessible to the Protestants, by the Difficulties of arriving to the Livery and Mastership of them, and by the excessive Expences, they must be at to be received into 'em; There being no Candidate, but was forced, for this purpose to be at the charge of tedious and expensive Law-Suits; under the Weight of which they were most commonly crushed. But this not sufficing by a Declaration made in 1669, they were reduced to one third, in the Towns where the Protestants were more in number than the other Inhabitants; and Orders were given not to receive any therein, till such Diminution was made: which at one Stroak excluded all the Pretenders.

Some time after they absolutely drove all the reformed from the Consulships, and all other municipal Offices of the Cities which was in effect, to deprive them of the Cognisance of their own Affairs, and Interests, wholly to invest the Catholicks with it.

In 1680, the King issued out an Order, which deprived them in general, of all kind of Offices and Employes, from the greatest to the smallest in his Farms and Revenues; they were made incapable so much as to exercise any Employ in the Custom-Houses, Guards, Treasury, or Post-Office, or even to be Messengers, Stage Coach Men, or Waggoners, or anything of this Nature.

In the year 1681, by a Decree of Council, all Notaries, Attorneys, Solicitors, Pursuivants, and Sergeants, making Profession of the reformed Religion were turned out and incapacitated throughout all the Kingdom.

The next Year they turned out of Place all the Officers who were Protestants belonging to the Nobility

and Gentry, particularly to the Judges: strictly prohibiting at the same time any of the said Lords and Gentlemen to employ them in their Service, or even so much as to call them in to assist them in difficult Cases, as Assessors, or to give them simply their Opinions in Matters of Law and Right, and this upon no other Account but that of their Religion.

In 1683, All Officers belonging to the King's Household, and those of the Princes of the Blood; were also rendered incapable of holding their Places, notwithstanding they were by Patent. The Counsellors and other Officers of the Court of *Ayds*, and Chambers of Accounts, and those of Seneshalships, Presidial Courts, Bayliwicks, and Royalties; Those also of the Admiralties, Provostships, and Marshalseas, with the Treasurers, Receivers and others who belonged to the Toll-Offices, and the publick Revenues, were ordered to quit their Places in Favour of the Roman Catholics.

In 1684, all Secretaries belonging to the King, or the great Officers of the *Household* or *Crown* of *France*, as well Titular as Honorary, and their Widows were by an Act of Revocation deprived of all their Privileges of what Nature soever they were. They also deprived all those that had purchased any Privileges for exercising of any Profession, as Merchants, Surgeons, Apothecaries, Vintners, and all others, without exception.

Nay, they proceeded to this Excess, that they would not suffer any Midwives of the Reformed Religion to do their Office, and expressly ordained that for the future, our Wives should not receive Assistance in Child-birth from any but Roman Catholicks.

'Tis not to be exprest how many particular Persons, and Families they reduced every where, by these strange and unheard of Methods, to Ruine and Beggary. But because there were yet many who could sustain themselves other Methods of Oppression must be invented. To this Purpose they issued out an Edict from

the Council, by which, the new *Converts*, as they call them, were discharged from any Payment of Debts, for three Years. This, for the most part, fell on the reformed, who, having had a more particular Tye of Interest and Affairs with these pretended *Converts* because of their Communion in Religion, were reckon'd among their chief Creditors. By this Invention they had found the Secret to recompense those that changed at the expense of those that did not; and this they did likewise by another Decree; for they discharged the new *Converts* of all the Debts which those of the Protestant Religion had contracted in common; which by consequence fell on the others.

Add to this, the Prohibition to sell or alienate their Estates, on any Pretence whatsoever, the King annulling and breaking all Contracts, and other Acts relating to that Matter, if it did not appear, that after these Acts, they had stayed in the Kingdom a whole Year: so that the last Remedy of helping themselves

by disposing of their Estates in extreme Necessity, was taken from them. They deprived them likewise of another which seemed the only one remaining, which was, that of seeking their Bread elsewhere, by retiring into foreign Countries, there to get their Living by Labour, since this was not permitted them in *France*; by repeated Edicts the King forbade them to leave his Kingdom, on severe Penalties, which drove them to the last Despair, since they saw themselves reduced to the horrible Necessity of Dying with Hunger in their own Country, without daring to go to live elsewhere. But the cruelty of their Enemies stopt not here, for there yet remained some Gleanings in the Provinces, though very few, and as thin as those in *Pharaoh's* Dream. The Intendants in their Districts had Order to Load the Reformed with Taxes; which they did, either by laying upon them the Tax of the *New Catholics*, who were discharged thereof in favour of their Conversion, or by laying Arbitrary Taxes, which

were called *Taxes of Offices*. That is to say, he who in the Ordinary Roll was assessed at Forty or Fifty Livres, was charged by this exorbitant Imposition at Seven or Eight Hundred. Thus had they nothing more left, for all was a Prey to the Rigour of the Intendants. They exacted the Payment of those Taxes by Quartering of *Dragoons*, or Rigorous Imprisonment; from whence they were not freed till they had pay'd the utmost Farthing.

These were the Two First Machines which the Clergy made use of against us: To which they added

* *Third Method
of Persecution.*

a * Third, which we have termed the Infract-
tion of the *Edict* of

Nantes, under pretence of Explication. Those who would know their Number and Quality, need only Read the Books Written and Publish'd on this subject, as well by the Jesuit *Meynier*, an Author, famous for his Cavilings, as by one *Fillau* of *Poitiers*, and *Bernard*, an Officer in the Presidial Court of *Besiers* in *Langue-*

doc. There you will find all the Turns, which the meanest and most unworthy Sophistry, could invent to elude the clearest Texts of the Edict, and to corrupt the sincerity thereof. But because we here give you only, a brief Abstract of our Troubles, and the Molestation we met with, we will content ourselves, with observing some few of the principal only, issuing from this Fountain.

What was there, for Example, more clear and unquestionable in the Edict than this, *viz.* That 'twas given with an intention to maintain those of the Reformed Religion, in all the Rights that Nature and Civil Society have endued Mankind withal? To argue thereupon would be but meer Trifling, and yet under pretence that the Edict contained not in Express Words, that the Natural Children should be left under the Tuition of their Fathers and Mothers to be brought up by them in their own Religion; the King without any regard, that this is one of the first and most Inviolable Rights

of human Nature, and as if the Edict aforesaid had made no Provision thereupon, by a Declaration of *January* 1682. Ordained that all Natural Children of either Sex, and of what Age and Condition soever, should be Instructed and Educated in the *Roman* Catholick Religion. It is very important in this place to take notice of the Words, *of what Age soever they be*, For that gave Birth to a World of Persecution, since the Adversaries were not content to use this Order with restriction to the time to come, but all Natural Children were enquired after. Among whom were some of at least Four score Years of Age, that had passed all their Life in the Protestant Religion, who by virtue of this Order were Imprison'd and grievously Oppress'd upon the supposition that they were obliged to be Catholicks by their birth.

Nor must it be omitted that in the Year 1683, there came out an Edict, that Children might at the Age of Seven Years, Abjure the Reformed

Religion, and Embrace the Catholick under pretence, that the Edict did not precisely mention, that at this Age they should continue at their Parents Disposal. Who sees not that this was a meer Fetch, seeing that on one Hand, the Edict positively Prohibited to take away Children from their Parents by force, or persuation, by which it was undoubtedly meant till Age of Discretion or Maturity should Emancipate them; And on the other hand it suppos'd, and confirm'd all the *Natural* Rights, of which without Controversie, this is one of the most inviolable.

Was there ever also a more manifest Infracti^on of the Edict, than that, which forbad those of the Protestant Religion, who had passed over to the *Roman*, to return to that they had left, under pretext, that the Edict did not formally give them in express terms this liberty? For when the Edict permits to all the Kings Subjects in general Liberty of Conscience, and forbids the perplexing or

troubling them, or offering any Force, contrary to this Liberty; Who sees not, that this Exception touching the pretended Relapsers, is so far from being an Explication of the Edict, that 'tis indeed a notable Violation of it?

Where-unto we may add the Prohibition to the *Roman* Catholicks not to change their Religion, and embrace the Reformed. For when the Edict gives Liberty of Conscience, it does it in proper Terms. For *all those who are, and shall be, of the said Religion*. Yet if we believe the Clergy, this was not *Henry* the Great's meaning, who according to them must have intended only to grant it to those, who made Profession of it, at the time of the making his Edict.

The Edict of *Nantes* gave also to the Reformed, the Privileges of keeping small Schools in all places where they had the Exercise of their Religion, and by this Term of *small or little Schools*, according to the common explication, those were always Understood where one might Teach Latin

and Humanities. This is the Sense which has been ever given all over the Kingdom, to this expression; and which is still given when it concerns *Roman* Catholicks, yet by a new sort of Interpretation, this Permission was restrained to the bare Liberty of Teaching to Read, and Write, and cast Accounts, as if the Reformed were unworthy of Learning anything further, and this on purpose to tire out the Parents, and drive them to this extremity, either not to know how to Breed up their Children, or else be forced to send them to the *Roman* Catholicks for Education.

The Edict gave them Power in all Places where they had Churches, to instruct publickly their Children, and others, *in all what concerns Religion*, which visibly establish'd the Right of teaching Theology; seeing their Theology is nothing else but their Religion, and as to Colleges, wherein they might be instructed in Philosophy and other liberal Sciences, which is properly

called a College, the Edict promis'd Letters Patent in good form. Yet 'twas interpreted that the Edict gave no Right to the Reformed to instruct them in Divinity, nor to have Colleges; and on this supposition it was, that Three Universities were condemned, which were all that remained, *viz. Saumur, Puilaurans, and Die*: That of *Sedan*, although founded on a particular Edict, was suppress'd as well as the rest, and even before them.

But amongst all the Infractions of the Edict of this sort, there has been none more solemn or more daring than the annulling or abolishing of the Courts of Justice, which had been granted by *Henry the Great* as a perpetual Establishment, with an equal number of Judges of both Religions, for administering Justice without Prejudice or Partiality, and for causing his Edict to be religiously observ'd. Nevertheless under Pretence that it was said that the Two Courts established at *Castres* and *Bordeaux* might be incorporated with their

Parliaments, when the Reasons that had moved his Majesty to have them separated, should cease. The present King by his Edict suppress also those of *Paris* and *Rouen*, and then by another soon after those of *Grenoble*, *Toulouse*, and *Bourdeaux*. Leaving by this means his Protestant Subjects expos'd to the Rage and Injustice both of the Parliaments, and other inferiour Courts, insomuch that it is not to be conceived what Vexations they have hence endured both as to their publick and private Concerns.

But we must go further, and seeing we have undertaken to shew in this Abridgment, the principal things they have done to exercise our Patience, before they came to the utmost Fury: We are not to pass over the new Orders, * or new Laws, which were as many new Inventions to torment us. The first of these Orders which appear'd was touching the manner of Burials and Interring

* *The Fourth Method of Persecution.*

the Dead. The Number of Attendants were reduc'd to *Thirty* Persons, in those Places where the Exercise of our Religion was actually Established, and to *Ten* where it was not. And the like Regulations as to Number were afterwards made as to most other occasions which we might have for meeting together about our Affairs.

Orders were also issued out to hinder the Communications of Provinces one with another, by Circular Letters or otherwise, though about Matters of Alms, and Disposal of Charity, Prohibitions were likewise made of holding Colloquies in the interval of Synods; excepting in two Cases, the Providing for Churches destitute by the decease of their Ministers, and for the Correction of certain Scandals. They likewise took away from those Places allowed by the Edict, which they call'd *Exercises in Fief*, all the Marks of Public Religious Exercise, as the Bell, the Pulpit, and other things of

this nature. They were likewise forbidden to receive those Ministers in Synods to Vote, or to Register them in the Catalogue of those that belong to Churches.

The Ministers in general were forbidden to take on them the Title of Pastors, or any other, beside that of Minister of the Pretended Reformed Religion. Others forbad the Singing of Psalms in Private Houses; Some too commanded them to cease Singing, even in their Churches when the Sacrament pass'd by, or at the time of any Procession. Others were made to hinder Marriages, at such times as were forbidden by the Church of *Rome*. Others forbad Ministers to preach anywhere, except in the place of their usual Residence. Others forbad their settling in Places unless sent by the *Synods*, though the Consistories should call them hither in due form. Others were made to hinder the Synods from sending to any Churches more Ministers, than were there in the preceeding Synod.

Others to hinder those that design'd for the Ministry, to be Educated in Foreign Universities. Others Banisht all Foreign Ministers, though they had been Ordained in the Kingdom, and spent there the greatest part of their Lives. Others forbad Ministers, or Candidates for the Ministry, to reside in Places where Preaching was forbidden, or nearer than Six Leagues of the same. Others forbad the People to Assemble in the Churches, under pretence of Praying, Reading or Singing of Psalms, except in the presence of a Minister appointed by the Synod. One ridiculous one was made to take away all the Backs of the Seats in the Churches, so to reduce them all to an exact Uniformity. Another, to hinder the Churches that were somewhat Richer, to assist the Weaker either towards the Maintenance of their Ministers, or other Necessities.

Another was made to oblige Parents to give their Children, who should change their Religion, great

Pensions. Another to forbid Marriage betwixt Parties of different Religions, even in the case of scandalous Cohabitation. Another to Prohibit those of the Reformed Religion, from that time, to entertain in their Houses any Domesticks, or Servants, that were *Roman* Catholicks. Another which made them incapable of being Named Trustees or Guardians. And consequently put all the Minors, whose Fathers Dyed in the Profession of the Protestant Religion, under the Power and Education of *Roman* Catholicks. Another forbidding Ministers and Elders to hinder any of their Flocks, either directly or indirectly from embracing the *Roman* Religion, or to dissuade them from it. Another forbidding *Jews* and *Mohametans* to embrace the Reformed Religion, and the Ministers either to Instruct, or receive them into it. Another subjecting Synods to receive such *Roman Catholic Commissioners* as should be sent them from the King, with an express

Order to do nothing but in their Presence. Another forbidding the Consistories to assemble oftener than once a Fortnight, and then always in the presence of a Catholick Commissioner. Another forbidding the Consistories to assist, on pretence of Charity the poor Sick Persons of their Religion; and ordaining that the sick should be carried into the Hospitals, strictly forbidding any Man to entertain them in their Houses. Another Confiscating in favour of the Hospitals, all the Lands, Rents, and other Profits of what nature soever, which might any Wise have appertained to any of the condemned Churches. And another forbidding Ministers to come nearer than Three Leagues to the Place where the Privileges of Preaching were in question or so much as contested. Another Confiscated to the use of the Hospitals all the Revenues, and Rents, set apart for the Maintenance of the Poor, even in such Places where the Churches were

yet standing. Another subjecting Sick and Dying Persons to the necessity of receiving Visits from Judges, Commissaries, or Church-Wardens; as well, as from Parish Priests, or their Curates, Monks, Missionaries, or other Ecclesiastics; thereby to induce them to change their Religion, or require of them express Declarations concerning it. Another forbidding Parents to send their Children under Sixteen Years of Age to Travel in Foreign Countries on any Pretence whatever. Another prohibiting Lords and Gentlemen to continue the Publick Exercise of Religion in their Families without first producing their Titles before the Commissioners, and obtaining their License for the same. Another which restrained the Right of Entertaining a Minister to those only, who were in possession of their Lands, even since the Edict of Nantes, in a direct or collateral Line. Another which forbad the *Bailywick* Churches to receive into them any of another *Bailywick*. Another which

enjoined Phisicians, Apothecaries, and Chirurgions, to advertise the Parish Priests, or Magistrates, of the condition of Sick *Protestants* that they might visit them.

But amongst all these new Laws, those which have most served the Design and Intention of the Clergy have been, on one Hand, such, as Prohibited the receiving into their Assemblies any of those who had changed their Religion, or their Children, or any *Roman Catholick* of what Age, Sex or Condition soever, under pain of forfeiting their Churches, and the Ministers doing *Amende Honourable*, with Banishment and Confiscation of their Estates; and on the other hand such, as that which enjoined the setting up in all the Protestant Churches a particular Bench for the Catholicks to sit on; For by this means, as soon as any one, but resolved to change his Religion, there needed no more but to make him do it in private, and then to find him next morning in the Church, there to be observed by the

Catholicks, who were in their seat ; Upon which immediately Informations were constantly made, and Condemnations procured according to all the Rigour of the Law. The *Roman Catholicks* needed only to come into the Church under pretence they had a place there, and then they slipt in amongst the Crowd, and immediately this was a Contravention, to the Declaration, and was followed by an unavoidable Condemnation. 'Tis by this means they have destroyed an incredible number of Churches, and put into Irons a great many Innocent Ministers, for Villains and False Witnesses were never wanting on those occasions.

* All those Proceedings were so violent, that they could not but make a strange impression on the Minds of the Reformed ; And indeed a very little stock of Penetration was sufficient to discern the Drift and Design of such ways. And in effect there were many of them that opened

** Fifth Method
of Persecution.*

their Eyes and bethought themselves seriously of their safety, by leaving the Kingdom; transporting themselves some into one Kingdom, and some into another, according as their several Inclinations led them. But this was what the Court no wise intended, for more than one reason; and therefore to hinder them, they renewed from time to time, the Decrees we have mentioned, which strictly Prohibited, under the most severe Penalties, any to depart the Realm without Leave; And to this End they strictly guarded all Passages on the Frontiers. But all these Precautions did not Answer their Expectations; And 'twas thought worth their while to Blind the People, by hopes of abating this rigorous usage at Home, and hiding from 'em the mighty Design they had in View; And to that End in 1669, the King was persuaded to Revoke several Violent Decrees, formerly given in Council, which produced the desired effect. For though the Judicious saw well

enough that this Moderation sprang not from a Right Principle; and that, in the Sequel, the Former Decrees were put in Execution; yet the most part imagined they would still Confine themselves within some Bounds, and not pass to a total destruction of us.

We have often Drawn the same Conclusions from the several *Verbal* Declarations, which came many times from the King's own Mouth, as that he pretended not to indulge us, but would do us perfect Justice, and permit us to enjoy the Benefits of the Edicts in their full Extent. And that although he should be very glad to see all his Subjects Re-united to the Catholick Religion, and would for the effecting thereof contribute all his Power, there should yet be no Blood shed during his Reign, nor any Violence exercis'd on this account. These precise and often reiterated Declarations, gave us hopes the King would not forget them; and that especially in *Essential* Matters he would suffer us to en-

joy the effects of his Equity. This we were the more induced to believe from a Letter he Wrote to His Electoral Highness of *Brandenbourg*, the Copies of which the Ministers of State took care to Disperse through the whole Kingdom. Wherein his Majesty assured him, that he was so well satisfied with the Behavior of his *Protestant* Subjects, and that having engaged his Royal Word to maintain them in their Rights and Privileges, his Intention was to let them enjoy the same, from whence we Drew this Natural Conclusion; that he intended not utterly to Extirpate us at that time.

To which we may add the Managements sometimes used in the Council, where some Churches were preserved, at the same time others were ordered to be demolished, to make the World believe, they observed some measures of Justice; and that those which they condemned, were consequently not grounded on good Titles. Sometimes they softened several too rigorous Decretal Orders of the Provin-

cial Parliaments; Other times they seemed not to approve of the Violences offered by the Intendants and inferiour Magistrates, so far as even to give Orders to moderate or suspend them. And accordingly they hindered the execution of a certain Decree made in the Parliament of *Rouen*, which enjoined those of the Reformed Religion to kneel when they met the *Host*. Thus did they stop too; the Persecutions of a Puny Judge at *Charanton*, who ordered us to strike out of our Liturgy a Prayer composed for the Faithful, that groaned under the *Tyranny of Antichrist*. 'Tis thus also, that they did not extreamly favour another Persecution, which began to be general in the Kingdom against the Ministers, under pretence of obliging 'em to take an Oath of Allegiance, wherein other Clauses were incerted, contrary to what Ministers owe to their Charges and Religion. 'Twas thus likewise they suspended the execution of some Edicts, which themselves had made,

as well to compel the Ministers to pay taxes as to oblige them to reside constantly in the Place where they exercis'd their Function. With the same design the Syndicks of the Clergy, had the Art to let the principal Churches of the Kingdom alone for many Years, without disturbing their Assemblies; whilst in the mean time they took away all those in the Country. They suspended also the condemnation of the Universities, and reserved 'em for the last. It was also in this view that at Court, they seemed at first not able to believe, and at last not to approve, of the excesses, which were committed in *Poitou* by one *Marillac*, an Intendant of that Province, a Man both cruel and greedy to the highest degree; and fitter much to be sent in the Highway, than to be made Intendant of a Province; though indeed he was let loose, on purpose for these Exploits.

But amongst all these tricking ways, there are none more remarka-

ble, than Five or Six, which it will not be improper here to relate. The *First* was, That at the very time, when at the Court they issued out all the Decrees, Declarations, and Edicts, which we have before spoken of, and which they caused to be put in Execution with the greatest Rigour; Nay while they Interdicted the Churches, Demolish'd the Temples, deprived Particular Persons of their Offices and Employments, reduced People to Poverty and Hunger, Imprison'd 'em, Loaded 'em with Fines, Banish'd 'em, and in a word, ravaged almost all; yet at the same time the Intendants, Governours, Magistrates, and other Officers in *Paris*, and over all the Kingdom, cooly and gravely gave out that the King had not the least intention to touch the Edict of *Nantes*, but would still most Religiously observe it. The *Second* was, that in the same Edict, which the King publish'd to forbid *Roman Catholicks* to embrace the Reformed Religion, which was in the Year 1682. (That is to

say, at a time when they had already greatly advanced the Work of our Destruction,) they caused a formal Clause to be inserted in these express Terms, *That he confirmed the Edict of Nantes, as much as it was, or should be needful.* The *Third* was, that in the Circular Letters which the King wrote to the Bishops and Intendants, to oblige them to signifie the Pastoral Admonitions of the Clergy, to our Consistories, he tells them in so many words. *That his Intention was not that they should do anything that might attempt, upon what had been granted to those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, by the Edicts and Declarations made in their favour.* The *Fourth*, that by an express Declaration published about the latter End of the Year 1685, the King commanded that the Ministers should not reside in the same Church, above the space of Three Years, nor return to the first within the space of *Twelve*; and that they should be thus Translated from Church to Church,

at least Twenty Leagues distant from one another; supposing by a manifest Consequence that his Design was yet to permit the Exercise of Religion, to the Ministers in the Kingdom for *Twelve Years at least*. Tho' indeed they had at that Moment design'd the Revocation of the Edict, and had resolved it in the Council. The *Fifth* consists in an Address presented to the King, by the Assembly of the Clergy at the same time, that an Edict to revoke that of *Nantes*, was drawing up, and actually put into the hands of the Attorney General to model it; and in the Decree which was granted on this address, the Clergy complained of the Misrepresentations which the Ministers are wont to make of the *Roman* Church, to which they attribute, say they, Doctrines which they do not hold, and beseech'd his Majesty to provide against it, expressly declaring that they did not yet desire the *Revocation* of the Edict, upon which the King by his Decree peremptorily forbid the Ministers to speak either good or bad

directly or indirectly, of the Church of *Rome* in their Sermons, from whence it was natural for every one to conclude 'twas his Intention they should still preach. Were ever such pitiful and treacherous Shifts seen! Or was there ever any greater than this which was put into the very Edict we are speaking of: The King after having cancell'd and annull'd the Edict of *Nantes*, and all that depended thereon; and having interdicted forever all publick religious Exercises, after having forever banish'd all the Ministers from his Kingdom, yet expressly declares, that his will is, that his other Subjects, who were not willing to change their Religion, might abide within the Realm in full Liberty, enjoy their Estates, and live with the same freedom as heretofore, without being at all molested on Account of their Religion; till it should please God to enlighten and convert them. These were Amusements and Snares to trapan the simple and unwary, as it has since appeared, and still does more and more every day by the horri-

ble Usages they suffer, and of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

* But we shall first mention another preparatory Stroak which the Persecutors have not failed to make use of, which we have reckoned the sixth in order. It consists in disposing the People insensibly to desire our Destruction, to approve it when done, and to diminish in their Minds that Horror which they must naturally have had, at the Cruelties and Injustices of our Persecutors. For this purpose several Methods were used, and the commonest have been the Sermons of the Missionaries and other controversial Preachers, with which the Kingdom was for some Years stock'd under the Title of *Royal Missions*. It was ordinary to choose in *France* for this End the most virulent and hot-brain'd Zealots, who had such an Education given them, which far from making them moderate, rather enflamed them; so that 'tis easy to apprehend what Actors these were like to

**The Sixth Method
of Persecution.*

be, when they not only found themselves upheld but saw themselves moreover set on, and had express Orders given them to inspire their Hearers with Fury. And so well did they acquit themselves in this matter, that 'twas not their Fault if popular Commotions did not follow in the great Cities, even in *Paris* it self, had not the prudence of the Magistrates prevented them.

To the Preachers we must joyn the Confessors and Directors of Conscience, the Monks, the Parish Priests, and in general, all Ecclesiasticks from the highest to the lowest; for as they were not ignorant of the true Intention of the Court in this Affair, every one would be striving who could show most Zeal, and Aversion to the Reformed Religion, because they all found their Interest therein; this being the readiest Way to raise and establish their Fortunes. In this Design of animating the People, there past few Days wherein the Streets did not ring, as well with the Publication of

Decrees, Edicts, and Declarations against the Protestants, as also with satyrical and seditious Libels, of which the People in the Towns of France are very greedy.

But these things served only for the meaner sort of People, and the Persecutors had the Mortification to see this their Design disapproved by all those who were one Degree above the Mob. Wherefore they imploy'd the pens of some of their Authors, who had already acquired some Reputation in the World; and amongst others that of the Author of the History of *Theodosius the Great*, and that of Mr. *Maimbourg*, heretofore a Jesuit. This last publish'd his History of Calvinism, which he has since had the leisure to repent of, by the smartest and weighty Answers which have been made to it. Their Example was followed by several others; and *Monsieur Arnaud* who loves always to make one in such Matters where he may vent his Spleen would not deny himself the satisfaction here, of pleas-

ing his Humour; and at the same time of endeavouring to recover the Favour he had lost at Court. But altho his *Apology for the Catholicks*, was a work as full of Fire and Passion as the Bigots themselves could have wish'd, yet was it not relish'd because his Person was not; he was so ill gratified for it, that he complained thereof to the Archbishop of *Rheims* in a Letter, the Copies whereof were dispersed all over *Paris*, amongst other things he exaggerated his Misfortune and compared himself with another, who for much less Service had received from the King a Reward of Twenty Thousand Livres. This more and more expos'd the Character of the Person.

However they stood in no great need of him, as not wanting virulent Writers; amongst whom we must not forget one Souldier, formerly (as they say) a Tailor, and at present Author of the History of the *Edicts of Pacification*; nor Mr. *Nicole* once a great *Jansenist*, and now a Proselite of the Archbishop of *Paris*; Au-

thor of the Book entitled, *Protestants convinced of Schism*. Nor the Author of the *Journal des Savans*, who in his ordinary Diaries fiercely contends for the Catholick Faith's being planted by Fire and Sword: alledging for the proof thereof the example of a King of *Norway*, who converted the Nobles of his Country by threatening them to *slay their Children before their Eyes, if they would not consent to have them baptized and be baptized themselves*. And for a long while together we have seen in *Paris*, and elsewhere, nothing but such sort of writings: To such a Degree was their Passion heightened.

Whilst all these things, which we have observed, were transacting in *France*, and they by great steps advanced to their End;

* Tis not to be imagined that the Reformed neglected their common Interests, or did not all that became a just and lawful Defence. They frequently sent from

** The Methods
taken by the Re-
formed for their
Defence.*

the remotest Provinces their Deputies to Court: They maintained their Rights before the Council; thither they brought their Complaints from all parts. They employed their Deputy General to solicit their Interests, as well with the Judges and Ministers of State, as with the King himself, some times also they presented general Addresses, in which they represented their Grievances with all the Humility and Deference that Subjects owe to their Sovereign. But they were so far in this from being heard, that their Troubles were continually increased: and so their second Estate became worse than the first. The last Petition presented to the King himself by the Deputy General in *March* 1684, was express'd in Terms the most submissive, and the most capable of moving Pity, as every one may judge, it having been since printed; and yet it produced no other Effect but the hast'ning on of what had been long resolve'd upon, namely by open force to compass our Ruine.

* This was effectually brought about some Months after, and executed in a manner so terrible and so outrageous, that, as we said in the beginning, there are few in *Europe*, how distant soever from the noise of the Public Occurrences who have not heard the Report of it; but 'tis certain the Circumstances are not Known to all, and therefore we shall give an Account of them in few Words, were it but to stop or silence the Impudence of such who are not ashamed to publish, that no Violences have been committed in *France*, and that all the Conversions there have been made with free and full Consent. They forthwith took the Method of quartering Soldiers in all the Provinces almost at one and the same time, which were chiefly Dragoons that are generally the basest Troops of the Kingdom, and Fellows that will stick at nothing. Terror and Dread marched before them: and, as it was concerted, all *France* was in an instant filled with this News, that the

** An account of the Dragooning.*

King would no longer suffer any *Huguenots* in his Kingdom; and that they must resolve to change their Religion, nothing being able to prevent it.

They began with the Province of Bearn, where the Dragoons did their first Executions, which were followed soon after in the *higher* and *lower Guienne*, *Xaintonge*, *Aunix*, *Poitou*, the *upper Languedoc*, *Vivarets*, and *Dauphine*, after which they came to the *Lioneois*, the *Cevennes*, the *lower Languedoc*, *Provence*, the *Vallees*, and the Country of *Gex*; afterwards they fell on the rest of the Kingdom, *Normandy*, *Burgundy*, the *Nivernois* and *Berry*; the Countries also of *Orleans*, *Touraine*, *Anjou*, *Britany*, *Champagne*, *Picardy*, and the *Isle of France*, even extending to *Paris* itself, which have all undergone the same Fate. The first thing the Intendants were order'd to do, was to summon the Cities and Commonalities. They assembled the Inhabitants thereof, who profest the reformed Religion, and told them, 'twas the King's Pleasure they should

without Delay turn Catholicks, which if they would not do freely, they should be made to do it by force. The poor People, surprised with such a Declaration, made Answer, *They were ready to sacrifice their Estates and lives to the King, but their Consciences being God's they could not in that manner dispose of them.*

There needed no more to make them immediately bring the Dragoons, which were not far off, the Troops immediately seized on the Avenues and Gates of the Cities; they placed Guards in all the Passages, and often enter'd with Sword in Hand, crying, *Dye or be Catholicks*: They were Quartered at Discretion on the Reformed, with a strict charge, that none should depart out of their Houses, nor conceal any of their Goods or Effects on great Penalties; yea, even on the Catholicks, that they should either receive or assist 'em in any manner. They began with consuming all the Provisions the House afforded, and gutting them of all their Money,

Rings, and Jewels; and in fine, Bleeding them of whatsoever was most valuable. After this they distrained the Household Goods, inviting not only the Catholicks of the Place, but also those of the neighboring Cities and Towns to come and Buy the said Goods, and other things that would yield Money. Afterwards they fell on their Persons, and there was no wickedness, or Horror, which they did not put in Practise, to force them to change their Religion.

Amidst a Thousand hideous Lamentations and horrid Blasphemies, they hung Men and Women by the Hair of the Head, or the Feet to the Roofs of the Chamber, or to the Racks in the Chimneys, and there smoked 'em with whisps of wet Hay, till they were no longer able to bear it; and when they took 'em down, if they would not sign, they hung 'em up immediately again. They pluck'd off the Hair of their Heads and Beards, with Pincers, till they left none remaining.

They threw them on great Fires

kindled on purpose, and pull'd them not out til they were half Roasted. They ty'd Ropes under their Arms, and Plung'd them again and again in Wells from whence they would not take them up, till they had promised to renounce their Religion. They bound them as they do Criminals, put to the Question; and in this Posture with a Funnel they poured Wine down their throats, till the fumes of it depriving them of their Reason, they were made to say they would consent to be Catholicks. They stript them naked, and after having offered them a Thousand infamous Indignities, they stuck them with pins from top to bottom. They lanc'd them with Pen-knives, and sometimes with red hot Pincers, took them by the Nose, and so dragged them about the Room till they promised to turn Catholicks, or till the Cries of those poor Wretches, that in this condition called on God for Assistance, constrained them to let 'em go. They Bastinadoed them most cruelly, and then dragg'd them

thus Bruised to the Churches where this forced appearance of theirs was accounted an Abjuration; They kept them from Sleeping, Seven or Eight Days together, by relieving one another that they might Watch them Night and Day, and keep them still Waking: They some times threw Buckets of Water on their Faces; They tormented them a Thousand ways, and held over their Heads Kettles turned downwards, whereon they made a continual Dinn, till these poor Creatures had even lost their Senses. If at any time they found any Sick Persons, either Men or Women, that kept their Beds, with Feavers or other Diseases, they had the Cruelty to bring a number of Drums, to Beat an Alarm about them for whole weeks together, without any Intermission, till they should give their Word they would change. It has in some places happened, that they have tyed Fathers and Husbands to the Bed Posts, while before their Eyes they Ravished their Wives and Daughters without

even being brought to condign Punishment for it. They pluckt off the Nails from the Hands and Toes of some, which was not to be endured without intolerable Torment. They Blew both Men and Women up with Bellows even till they were ready to burst.

If after these horrid usages, there were yet any that refused to turn, they Imprisoned them; and for this chose Dungeons the most Dark and Noysom, in which they exercised on them all sorts of inhumanity. In the mean time they demolished their Houses, desolated their Lands, cut down their Woods, and seized their Wives and Children to Imprison them in Monasteries. When the Soldiers had devour'd and consumed all that was in an House, the Royal Farmers furnished them with subsistence, and to reimburse themselves, Sold by Authority of Justice the Estates of such Gentlemen, and put themselves in Possession thereof. If some to secure their Consciences, and escape the Tyranny of these Merciless Men, en-

deavoured to save themselves by Flight, they were pursued and hunted in the Fields and Woods and shot at like Wild Beasts. In order to which the Provosts Patrolled upon the High Ways, and the Magistrates of Towns had orders to stop all them without exception, and bringing them back to the Places from whence they fled, they used them like Prisoners of War.

But we must not fancy that this Storm fell only on the common sort, Noblemen and Gentlemen of the best Quality were not exempted from it. They had Soldiers Quartered upon them in the same manner, and were treated with the same fury as Citizens and Peasants were. They plundered their Houses, wasted their Goods, rased their Castles, cut down their Woods, forced away their Children, and their very persons were exposed to the Insolence and Barbarity of the Dragoons, no less than others. They spared neither Sex, Age, nor Quality, where ever they found any unwillingness to obey the Command of chang-

ing their Religion, they practised the same Violences. There were still remaining some Officers belonging to the Parliaments, who underwent the same Fate, after having been first deprived of their Offices; nay even the Military Officers, who were actually in Service, were ordered to quit their Post and Quarters, and repair immediately to their Houses there to suffer the like storm; if to avoid it, they would not become Catholicks. Many Gentlemen and other Persons of Quality, and many Ladies of great Age, and of Ancient Families, seeing all these Outrages, hoped to find some Retreat in *Paris*, or *at Court*; Never imagining the Dragoons would come to seek them out so near the King's Presence. But this hope was no less vain than all the rest, for immediately there was a Decree of Council, which commanded them to leave *Paris* and *the Court* within few Days, and to return without delay to their own Houses with a Prohibition to all Persons to entertain or Lodge

them in their Houses. Some having attempted to petition the King, complaining of these cruel Usages and humbly beseeching his Majesty to stop the Course of them, could obtain no other Answer, but that of being sent to the *Bastille* where they suffered the same Persecutions.

Before we proceed any further, 'twill not be amiss to make here some *remarks*; the first shall be, that almost every where, at the Head of these infernal Legions, besides the Commanders and Military Officers, the *Intendants* and *Bishops* march'd every one in his Province or Diocese, with a Troop of Missionaries, Monks, and other Ecclesiasticks.

The *Intendants* gave such Orders as they thought most effectual to carry on Conversions; and to restrain natural Pity and Compassion; if at any time it should find (which was not often) a Place in the Hearts of the Dragoons or of their Commanders. And as for my Lords

Bishops, they were there to keep open House, to receive Abjurations, and to have a general and severe Inspection, that every Thing might pass according to the Intentions of the Clergy. The Missionaries and Ecclesiasticks were there to animate the Soldiers to such an Execution so agreeable to the Church, and so glorious to God and his Majesty.

The second Thing observable is, that when the Dragoons had made any yield, by all the Horrors which they practiced, they immediately changed their Quarters, and sent them to those who still persever'd. This Order was strictly observ'd in this Manner, even to the End, insomuch that those who persever'd to the last, and had shewn the greatest Constancy, had at last the whole Number of the Dragoons, which at the beginning were dispers'd amongst all the Inhabitants equally, quarter'd upon them alone, which was indeed a Load impossible to be born.

A third Remark, which we shall make, is, that in almost all the considerable Cities and Towns, they took care before they sent Troops thither, to gain by means of the Intendants or some other underhand Way, a certain Number of Persons not only to change their Religion themselves, when it should be required; but also to assist in perverting others. So that when the Dragoons had sufficiently play'd their Part, the Intendants with the Bishop, and the Commander of the Forces, would again assemble these miserable Inhabitants, that were now utterly ruin'd to exhort them to obey the King, and become Catholicks; adding withal the most terrible Threats that could be to over-awe them; and then those they had before gain'd never fail'd to execute what they had preingag'd, which they did with the more Success inasmuch as the People did as yet, put some kind of Confidence in them.

A fourth Observation is, that when

the Master of the House thinking to get rid of the Dragoons, had obey'd and sign'd what they would, he was not freed for all this, if his Wife, Children, or the meanest of his Domesticks did not do the same; and if his Wife, or any of his Children, or Family fled, they ceas'd not tormenting him, till he had made them return: which often times being impossible, the change of his Religion did not at all avail him.

The fifth is, that when these poor Wretches fancied their Consciences might be at rest, by signing some Form of an equivocal Abjuration, which was so tender'd on purpose, to ensnare them, these Villains would in some short time after come to them again, and make them Sign one sufficiently strong and binding, which drove them into the utmost Despair. Nay farther, they had the Baseness to make 'em declare, that they embraced the Romish Religion of their own full and free Consent without having been won to it by any indirect

or violent means. If after this they scrupl'd to go to Mass, or did not communicate, if they did not assist at Processions, or omitted going to Confession, if they did not tell over their beads, or if a Sigh slip'd from them, signifying their unwillingness they had immediately Fines laid on 'em and were forc'd to receive again their old Guests the *Dragoons*.

The sixth and last remark is. As fast as the Troops ravaged in this manner the Provinces, spreading Terror and Desolation in all Parts, Orders were sent to all the Frontiers and Seaport Towns, strictly to guard the Passes, and stop all such as pretended to escape out of the Kingdom; so that there was hardly any Hope for these poor Wretches, to save themselves by *Flight*. None being permitted to pass without having a certificate, either from his Bishop, or Curate, that he was a Catholick, those who had not were put in Prison, and used like Traytors. As for any Permission freely to depart, 'twas in vain to at-

tempt it. That was constantly deni'd ; And all foreign Vessels lying in the several Ports were narrowly searched ; the Coasts, Bridges, Passages to Rivers, and the High-ways were all carefully guarded, both Night and Day. And the Persecution was carry'd to that height, that some of the neighbouring States were requir'd not to harbour any more Refugees, and even to send back such as they had already received. Attempts were also made to seize on, and carry away some, who had escaped into foreign Countries.

Whilst all this was now acting in the Kingdom, the Court was no less busy in consulting to give the finishing

** The Revocation
of the Edict
of Nantes.*

* Stroak ; which consisted in rigging out an Edict to repeal that of *Nantes*. Much Time

was spent in drawing it up, both for Matter and Form, for some would have the King detain all the Ministers, and force them as well as the Laity to change their Religion, or else condemn them to perpetual Im-

prisonment. They alledged, that if that were not done, they would be as so many dangerous and inveterate Enemies against him, in foreign Nations. But others on the contrary affirm'd, that as long as the Ministers continued in *France*, their presence would encourage the People to persevere to the utmost in their Religion, whatsoever Care might be taken to hinder it; and that supposing they should change, they would be but as so many secret Adversaries, sheltered within the Bosom of the Romish Church, so much the more dangerous as their Knowledge and Experience in controversial Matters was great. This last Reasoning prevailed, and so the resolution was taken to banish the Ministers, and to allow them no longer time than fifteen Days to depart the Kingdom. And then the Draught thereof was deliver'd to the Attorney General, of the Parliament of *Paris* to draw it up in such Form, as he should judge most fitting. But before the publishing of it, two Things were thought necessary to be done;

the first was to oblige the Assembly of the Clergy at their breaking up, to present to the King the above mention'd Address, in which they told his Majesty, they desired not for the present the repealing the Edict of *Nantes*. And the other was to issue out an Order of Council to suppress all kind of Books made by those of the reformed Religion, by the first of these, the Clergy thought to shelter themselves from the Reproaches, which might be cast on them as the Authors of so many Miseries, Calamities, and Oppressions, as this Repeal would inevitably occasion, And by the other they pretended to make the Conversions, (as they styled them,) much more easy, and confirm those which had already been made, by taking from the People all Books, which might either instruct, fortifie, or bring them back again.

To conclude, this Revocative Edict of *Nantes*, was seal'd and publish'd on *Thursday*, the 18 of *Oct.* in the year 1685. The Court being then at *Fontainbleau*, 'Tis said Mounsieur

Letelier the then Chancellor of *France* shew'd an extream Joy at the sealing it; but that lasted not long, this being the last time of his holding the Seals, for as soon as he return'd from *Fontainbleau*, he fell immediately sick, and died within a few Days; leaving both the reformed and others matter for Reflection on the Fate of the Persecutors, into the Number of whom his Politicks rather than his natural Inclination had forc'd him in his latter Days.

This Edict was registerd in the Parliament of *Paris* on *Monday* the 22th following in the Vacation contrary to all Form. And presently after it was passed in like manner in the other Parliaments.

It contains in it, a Preamble and twelve Articles. In the Preamble the King shews how neither *Henry the Great* his Grandfather, did give the Edict, nor *Lewis* the XIII his father confirm it, by his other Edict of *Nimes*, but with a Design of endeavouring more effectually the Reunion of their

Subjects of the pretended reformed Religion, to the Catholick Church, and that this was also the very Design which he had himself at his first Accession to the Crown. That he had been hindered in this by the Wars, which he was forced to carry on against the Enemies of his Crown and State; but that at present being at Peace with all the Princes of *Europe*, he wholly gave himself to the bringing about this Reunion. That God had been graciously pleased to enable him to accomplish it, seeing the greatest and best Part of his Subjects of the said Religion had embraced the Catholick, these Edicts of *Nantes* and *Nimes* with others were consequently become void and useless.

By the *first Article* he therefore suppresses and repeals them in all their Extent; and ordains that all the *Protestant Churches* yet standing in the Kingdom of *France* and in all the Countries, Territories, and Lordships under his Obedience should immediately be demolished. By the *Second*

he forbids all Sorts of Assemblies for the Exercise of said Religion be they of what kind soever. The *Third* prohibits religious Exercise in the Families to all the Lords and Gentlemen of Quality, under penalty of corporal Punishment and Confiscation of their Estates. The *Fourth* banishes all the Ministers out of his Kingdom, and Territories thereto belonging, and enjoins them to depart thence within fifteen Days after the Publication of this Edict under Pain of being sent to the Gallies. By the *fifth* and *sixth* he promises Rewards and Advantages to the Ministers who should change their Religion, as also to their Widows after them. In the *seventh* and *eighth*. He forbids the instructing of Children in the pretended reformed Religion: and ordains that those who shall be born henceforward shall be baptiz'd, and educated, in the Catholick Religion; enjoining the Parents to send them for this End to the Churches, under the Penalty of being fined 500 Livres. The *ninth*

gives four Months time to such Persons as have already departed the Kingdom to return; otherwise their Goods and Estates to be confiscated. The *tenth*, with repeated Prohibitions, forbids all his Subjects of the said Religion to depart out of his Realm, either they, their Wives or their Children, or to convey their Effects, under the Pain of the Gallies for the Men, and of Confiscation of Body and Goods for the Women. The *Eleventh*, confirms the Declarations heretofore made against those that relapse. The *Twelfth* declares, that as to the *rest* of his Subjects of the said Religion, they might till God enlighten them, remain in the Cities of his Kingdom, Countries, and Lands under his Obedience, and there continue their Commerce or Trade, and enjoy their Estates, without being troubled or molested upon Pretence of the said Religion; on Condition only that they hold no Assemblies under Pretext of praying or exercising publickly, any kind of Religious Worship.

* *The Consequences of the Revocation.*

* In Execution of this Edict, the very same day that it was registered and published at *Paris*, they began to demolish the Church of *Charenton*. The oldest Minister* thereof was commanded to leave *Paris* within four and twenty Hours, and forthwith to depart the Kingdom. For this end they put him into the Hands of one of the King's Footman, with orders not to leave him till he was out of his Dominions. His Colleagues were little better treated; they gave them forty-eight Hours to quit *Paris* and left them afterwards, to pursue their Journey upon their Parole. The rest of the Ministers were allow'd the fifteen days; but it can hardly be believed to what Vexations and Cruelties they were exposed. First of all, they neither permitted them to dispose of their Estates, nor to carry away any of their Moveables or Effects nay they disputed them their Books and private Papers, on Pretence, that they must

* Pastor Claude.

first justifie, that these their Books and Papers did not belong to the Consistories wherein they serv'd which was a Thing impossible, since there were no Consistories then remaining. Besides they would not give 'em leave to take along with 'em Father or Mother, Brother or Sister, or any of their Kindred; though there were many of them infirm, decay'd and poor, which could not subsist but by their Means. They went so far, as even to deny them their own Children, if they were above seven Years old; nay some they took from them that were under that Age, and even such as yet hang'd upon their Mother's Breast; and refused them Nurses for their new born Infants, which the Mothers could not give suck to.

In some frontier Places they stopp'd and imprison'd them, upon divers ridiculous Pretences, sometimes alledging they must prove, that they were really the same Persons which their Certificates mentioned. At other times they wanted to be in-

form'd whether there were no criminal Process, or informations against them, and sometimes again they would force them to prove that they carried away nothing that belonged to their Flocks. Then after they had thus detained and amused 'em, they would tell them that the Fifteen Days of the Edict were expired, and they could not longer have Liberty to retire, but must be sent to the Gallies. There was no kind of Deceit or Treachery which they did not make use of to molest them.

As to the rest, whom the Force of Persecution and hard Usage constrained to leave their Houses and Estates, and to fly the Kingdom, 'tis not to be imagined what Dangers they exposed themselves to. Never were Orders more severe or more strict, than those that were given against them. They doubled the Guards in Sea-port Cities, High-ways and Foards; They cover'd the Country with Souldiers; they armed even the Peasants either to stop or kill those that passed: They forbad all the Offi-

cers of the Customs to suffer any Goods, Moveables, Merchandize or other Effects to pass. And in a word, they forgot nothing that might hinder the Flight of the persecuted even to the interrupting almost all Commerce with the neighbouring Nations. By this means they quickly filled all the Prisons in the Kingdom; for the Dread of the Dragoons, the Horror of seeing their Consciences forced, and their Children taken from them, and of living for the future in a Land where there was neither Justice nor Humanity *for them*, obliged every one to think of an Escape, and to abandon all to save their Persons. All these poor Prisoners have been since treated with unheard of Rigour, confined in Dungeons, loaded with heavy Chains, almost starved with Hunger; and deprived of all converse but that of their Persecutors. They put many into Monasteries where they experienced some of the worst of Cruelties. Some indeed have been so happy as to dye in the midst of

their Torments, but others have at last sunk under the Weight of the Temptation; and some again by the extraordinary Assistance of God's Grace, do still sustain it with an Heroick Courage.

These have been the Consequences of this new Edict, but who would not have believed that the *Twelfth Article* would have sheltered the *rest* of the Reformed, that had a Mind still to tarry in the Kingdom; since this Article doth so expressly assure them, that they might live therein, continue their Trade, and enjoy their Estates without being at all troubled or molested upon pretence of their Religion. Yet behold what they have done, and still are doing to these poor Wretches, they did not recall the Dragoons and other Souldiers, which had been sent into the Provinces before the Edict: On the contrary they to this day commit with greater Fury, the same Inhumanities and Barbarities, which we have before represented; besides this, they have filled those Provinces since

with Souldiers where there were none before, as *Normandy, Picardy, Berry, Champagne, the Nivernois, Orleans, the Blesois* and the *Isle of France*. They exercise the same Violence, exert the same Fury there as they do in other Provinces. *Paris* it self, where methinks this Article of the Edict, should have been best observ'd, because so near the King's Presence, and more immediately under the Government of the Court, *Paris*, I say, was no more spared than the rest of the Kingdom. The very day the Edict was published, without more delay, the Attorney General and some other Magistrates, began to send for the Heads of Families to come to them, they declar'd to 'em that 'twas absolutely the King's Will they should change their Religion; that they were no better than the rest of his Subjects, and that if they would not do it willingly, the King would make use of those means which he had ready to compell them to it. At the same time they banish'd by Letters under the

privy Seal the Elders of the Consistory, together with some others in whom they found the most Constancy and Resolution; and the better to disperse them, chose out such Places as were most remote from Commerce, where they have ever since used them with a great deal of Cruelty, some have comply'd, but others are yet under Sufferings.

The Diligence of the Attorney General and Magistrates not succeeding so fully as they wish'd, though Threats and Menaces were not wanting; *Monsieur de Seignelay*, Secretary of State would also try what Influence he could have within his Jurisdiction at *Paris*, for this End he got together about an hundred or an hundred and Twenty Merchants and others into his Palace, and after having caused the Doors to be shut, he forthwith presented them with a certain Form of Abjuration, and commanded them in the King's Name presently to sign it; declaring that they should not stir, till they obeyed

The Contents of that Form were, not only that they did renounce the *Here-sy of Calvin*, and enter into the Catholick Church, but also that they did this *voluntarily*, and without being forced or compelled to it. This was done in a most imperious manner, and with an haughty Air of Authority: there were that dar'd to open their Mouths, but they were sharply answered, that they were not to dispute but to obey; so that they all sign'd before they went out.

To these Methods they added others more terrible, as Prisons, the actual Seizure of their Effects and Papers, the taking away of their Children, the Separation of Husbands and Wives; and in fine, the hard Method, that is to say, *Dragoons*. Those that most firmly stood out, they sent to the *Bastille* and to the Fort *Leveque*; The Houses of as many as they could not find, or had hid themselves, were seal'd up, they plunder'd many others, not sparing their Persons, just as they had done in other Places.

Thus the *Twelfth* Article of the Edict, which promised some Relaxation, or Shadow of Liberty, was nothing but an egregious deceit to amuse the credulous, and keep them from thinking to make their escape, a Snare to catch them with the more ease.

Fury still kept on its usual course, and was heated to such a degree, as not content with the desolation committed in the Kingdom, it reached even into *Orange*, a Sovereign Principality, where the King of Right has no Power, and thence taking the Ministers away by force, transported them into his Prisons. Thither the Dragoons were likewise sent, where they executed all kind of Mischiefs and Villany, and by force constrained the Inhabitants thereof, both Men, Women and Children, nay, and the very Officers of the Prince, to change their Religion.

This was the state of things in the latter End of the Year 1685, and the full Accomplishment of the Threats the Clergy had made us three Years

before, towards the End of their Pretended Pastoral Letter. Ye must expect misery incomparably more dreadful and intolerable, than all those, which hitherto your Revolt and your Schism have Drawn upon you. And truly they have not been worse than their Word, there are some notwithstanding in the Kingdom who still abide firm; and their Persecutions are still continued to them; New Torments are daily invented against those whom Force has made to Change their Religion, because they are still observed to Sigh and Groan under their hard Bondage, their Heart detesting what their Mouths have Profest, or their Hands signed. As to such as have escaped into Foreign Countries, who are at least *An Hundred and Fifty Thousand Persons*, their Estates are Confiscated; this being all the hurt they can do to them at present. I say *at present*; for 'tis not question'd but our Persecutors are contriving to extend their Cruelties further. But we must hope

in God, that whatsoever intentions they may have of destroying the Protestant Religion in all Places, he will not permit them to effect their design. The World will surely open its Eyes; And this which they have now been doing with an high Hand, and worse than barbarous fury, will shew not only the Protestants, but the wise and sober Catholicks, what they are to expect both one and other, from such a sort of People.

** Reflexions upon
all these Cruel
Persecutions.*

* In effect, he that shall give himself, but the leisure to reflect on the matters of fact which we have just now related, the which are most evident, notorious, and acted in the face of the Sun, shall see not only the Protestants oppressed, but the King's Honour sullied, his Countries damnified, all the Princes of *Europe* Interested; nay, even the Pope himself, with his whole Church and Clergy, shamefully discredited, and defamed.

* For to begin with the *King* himself. What could be more contrary to his Dignity than to put him upon breaking his Word, and persuading him that he might lawfully and with a safe Conscience violate, by a Thousand Contraventions and Breaches, and at last utterly revoke and annul, so solemn an Edict as was that of *Nantes*. * *First Reflection.*

That Edict which was granted by *Henry the Great* in the Year 1598, hath Four Incontestable Characters that are justified by the very Text it self. 1. That it was a Royal and Sovereign *Promise*, which he granted, not only for himself, and for the Term of his own Reign, but also for that of all his Descendants and Successors for ever. 2. That of being a Solemn, Definitive, and Irrevocable *Decree*, pronounced by the Sovereign Magistrate, to continue for ever, as a Regulation and Law between the two contending Parties, the *Roman Catholics* and the Protestants, after both had been duly and sufficiently heard.

3. That of being a Treaty or Accord accepted, agreed upon, and consented to, by the whole Realm in Quality of a *perpetual* Law and Regulation. And 4. that of having been made sacred, and even divine, by the *reciprocal Oath* of the whole Nation.

I say, that these four Characters are incontestable, and to be justified from the very Text of the Edict. The first is evident from the Preamble, wherein the King, after having exhorted his Subjects rightly to understand that in the Observation of that Law did consist the chief Foundation of their Union, and Concord, Tranquility and Peace, and the Restoration of the State to its primitive Splendour, Wealth and Dignity, he adds, We on our Part promise to cause the same exactly to be observed, and not to suffer it to be any ways violated, and then to shew he meant that his promise should oblige his Posterity and Successors, he declares, he grants it *as an Edict perpetual and Irrevocable*. And having partic-

ularly express'd the Articles of it, he concludes, in these words, we declare expressly that our Will is that this our Edict be firmly and inviolably kept and observed by all our Justices, Officers, and all other our Subjects, and that no Respect or Regard shall be had to any thing that might be contradictory to orderogatory from the same.

And accordingly Lewis XIII. at his Accession to the Crown lookt upon it, as a Law to the Observation whereof he found himself engaged, acknowledging by his Declaration, that it was an Edict perpetual and irrevocable which stood in no need of being confirmed, the King now reigning has acknowledg'd the same upon several Occasions. This is then a Royal Word and Promise of *Henry the Great*, not only on behalf of himself, but also in behalf of his Posterity, and thence it follows; that 'tis a Condition annex'd to his Inheritance and Crown never to be separated from it.

The second Character is no less certain and manifest than the first, it appears by the Preamble of the Edict

wherein the King declares that he did not grant this Law, but till after he had on one Side consider'd the Representations of his Catholick Subjects, and on the other side permitted his Subjects of the pretended reformed Religion to meet by their Representatives, to draw up theirs, and to put together all their Remonstrances, and upon that Account conferr'd with them at several Times. Adding, that he judged it necessary to set forth at present, upon Consideration of the whole Matter to all his said Loving Subjects, a Law that might be universal, clear, plain, and absolute whereby they should regulate themselves upon all Differences, which formerly did, or hereafter might arise betwixt them. This then is a Judgement after a fair Hearing of both Sides, and a Regulation no less fit to adjust all former Differences, than to put an end to those that might happen thereafter: and consequently, *'tis a perpetual and irrevocable Edict*, as he terms it himself; not in a titular Way only, as Kings are sometimes wont to express

themselves, but really and in its own Nature. And accordingly he further declares he gives it, after having, with the Advice of the Princes of his Blood, the other Princes, the Crown Officers, and other Grandees and notable Members of his Council of State being near him, diligently weighed and considered the whole Matter.

As for the 3d Character there cannot be desir'd a better Proof than its having been registred in all the Courts of Parliament of the Realm, in the Chambers of Accounts, Courts of *Ayds*, *Baylewicks*, *Seneschalseas*, *Provostships*, and all other Jurisdictions whatsoever, according as it was order'd by the last Article thereof. The Parliament indeed of *Paris* and *Toulouse* a little scrupled it at first, but those Difficulties were soon over, and there was no Opposition either from the Clergy or from the Body of the Catholicks, on the contrary, the Promulgation of it was with the full Consent of the whole Realm, as even the aforementioned *Bernard* Counsellour of *Beziers* hath acknowledged in

his pretended Explanation of the Edict of Nantes. After the publication of this Edict, says he, the King sent Commissioners into all the Provinces of the Kingdom to put it in Execution, and to re-establish his Religion where it had been disused, but we do not find by the verbal Relations of those Commissioners, that they did anything considerable, or that any Controversies were brought before them, concerning the Exercises of Religion, and other Important Matters, either because they were willing to prevent the reviving of the Differences already terminated, and the kindling a-new the Heats that were so lately appeas'd; or because the Exercise of the Catholick Religion having been interrupted a long while in many Places, they were content to have it everywhere restored.

As to the 4th Character one need only read the XCII Article, wherein the King ordains in express Terms, that the Observation of his Edict shall be sworn to by all the Governours and Lord Lieutenants of Provinces, Bailiffs, Seneschals, and other ordinary

Judges, by Mayors, Aldermen, Capitouls, Consuls, and Jurats or Sheriffs, either Annual or by Patent for Life, also by the Principal Inhabitants of Cities and Towns, as well Catholicks as Protestants, and lastly, by the Courts of Parliament, Chambers of Accounts, and Court of Ayds. All which was punctually executed accordingly.

Any the least of these Characters were sufficient, one might think, tho' separated from the rest, to put the Edict out of the Reach of the Capriciousness and Fickleness of *such is our Will and Pleasure*, for who can doubt but that a King is oblig'd to keep his Word, and his faith, and likewise that of his Predecessors too; when the same is become a condition inseparably annexed to the Succession; as undoubtedly it is, if it has been granted under the Quality of a Solemn, perpetual, and irrevocal Promise. It were impertinent to say, that a King can't oblige himself towards his own Subjects, or that it is inconsistent with his sovereignty. For not to enter into the Discussion of that Principle, which

would lead us too far, if examin'd with Application, I say, if the solemn Promises of Kings do not oblige them towards their Subjects, they at least are obligatory *to themselves*. A King sure is no better than God. Who though he be infinitely elevated above his Creature, all Divines nevertheless agree that his Promise binds him so far *to himself* that it is immutable, for which Reason the Scripture so often speaks of his *Fidelity* and *Veracity*, in the Performance of the Conditions contained in his Covenant with us. Who can doubt, but a King may bind himself to observe and cause inviolably to be observ'd the Laws which Justice has inclin'd him to grant his Subjects, for regulating their Differences by the Rules of Right Reason, and preserving them all from their mutual Oppressions? How much more then is he bound when his Subjects also on both Sides have agreed to it; and the Law made for both their mutual Benefits, is become *the publick Faith* of his whole Kingdom? And how much more yet when the Covenant, or Treaty

has been reciprocally and solemnly sworn to, by a whole Nation, and God himself become thereby the Depositary and Avenger of it? How is it then possible that those evil Counsellours should have perswaded the King, to break through all the Barriers of Justice, Fidelity, and Conscience; and without any regard either to God, the State, or himself, to make his Power his only Rule.

To palliate in some sort the Violence of this Procedure they make him say in this new Edict, that the best and greatest Part of his Subjects, of the Pretended reformed Religion have embraced the Catholick; and that therefore the Execution of the Edict of Nantes, with whatsoever else has been done in Favour of the same Religion was become void. But is not this an Evasion unworthy of his Majesty, seeing that if this *best and greatest Part* of his Subjects of the reformed Religion embraced the Catholick; 'tis certain they have been constrain'd to it by Force, and the cruel

and furious Oppression which his Troops have laid on them.

Perhaps this might indeed be said, had the *better* and *greater* Part of his Subjects chang'd their Religion of their own Accord, altho that in this Case too, the Privileges of the Edict must have continued for those that remain'd. But after having forc'd them to change by the horrible Inhumanities of his Dragoons, after having depriv'd them of the Liberty which the Edict gave 'em; to say coldly, that he only revokes the Edict, because it is now become *useless*, is a Raillery unbefitting so great a Monarch: for it is as much as if he said, that he was indeed oblig'd to continue to his Protestant Subjects all the Privileges due to them; but that having himself overthrown them by a *Major Force*, he finds himself at present lawfully and fairly disengag'd from his Obligation: which is just as if a Father, who himself had cut his childrens Throats, should glory in the being from that time forward freed from the Care of nourishing and protecting

them. Are Kings wont thus to express themselves in their Edicts?

What they make him further say, to wit, that *Henry the Great*, his Grandfather of glorious memory, granted the Edict of Nantes to those of the pretended reformed Religion only that he might the better effect their Reunion to the Roman Church; that Lewis XIII also his Father of glorious memory, had the same Design when he gave the Edict of Nimes; and that he himself too, had entred thereinto at his coming to the Crown; is but a pitiful Salvo, but taking it for granted since they will have it so, and let us state it nakedly and literally in the Sense they give it us in, what can we conclude thence, but these following Propositions? (1) That *Henry the Great* and Lewis the 13 granted those Edicts to our Forefathers only on Purpose to deceive them, and with an intent afterwards to ruine them with the greater Facility under the Mask of this Fraud. (2) That not being themselves able to effect this, being hindered by their other Affairs, they com-

mitted this most important Secret to his present Majesty, to the end he should execute it when he met with a fitting Opportunity. (3) That his present Majesty entring into the Thought of this, at his first coming to the Crown, he confirm'd those Edicts and set forth his Declarations of 1643 and 1652, with other Decrees advantageous to the Reformed Religion, only the more cunningly to impose on them, and lay Snares in their Way, or if you please, to crown them, as they crowned of old the Victims when they were to be sacrific'd. (4) That all that has been done against them since the Peace of the *Pirennées*, till this very time, according to the Abridgment which we have here made of it, has been only the Execution of a Project, yea even of a Project far more Ancient than we imagin'd, seeing we must date it from the time of the granting of the Edict of *Nantes* it self, and go back as far as to *Henry the Great* for it, and in fine, that that which has been till now a great and profound Mistery is no longer so; seeing the

King by this new Edict discovers it to all the World, that he may be applauded for it.

Can any Body but confess, that if the Enemies of *France* had undertaken to discredit the Conduct of its Kings, and render them odious to the World, they could not have taken a more successful Course. *Henry the Great* gives his Edict to the Protestants with the greatest Solemnity imaginable, he gives it to them as a Recompence of their Services, he promises solemnly to observe it; and as if this was not enough, he binds it on the whole Kingdom by an Oath: he executes it to the utmost of his Power; and they peaceably enjoy'd it to the end of his Reign: yet all this is but a meer Snare, for they are to be dragoon'd at a proper time: but being himself surpriz'd by Death he could not do it, but leaves it in Charge to *Lewis the XIII.* his Son.

Lewis the XIII ascends the Throne, issues out his Declaration immediately, that he acknowledges the Edict of

Nantes as perpetual and irrevocable, and such as needed not any new Confirmation, and that he would religiously observe every Article of it, and therefore sends Commissioners accordingly to see it actually put in Execution. When he took up Arms he protested that he had no Design at Religion; and in Truth he permitted the full Liberty of it, even in those very Towns he took by Assault, he gives after this his Edict of *Nimes* as the Edict of a *Triumphant* Prince, declaring nevertheless that his Intention therein was that, *that of Nantes* should be inviolably kept, and accordingly kept it himself to his dying Days. But this is only intended, forsooth, to lull the Protestants asleep till a favourable Occasion to destroy them should present.

Lewis the XIV at his coming to the Crown confirms the Edict, and declares that he will maintain the reform'd in all their Privileges; he afterwards confirms in another Declaration, how highly he is satisfied with their

Services; and testifies his Design of establishing them in the Enjoyment of their Rights, but this is all but a meer Amusement, and an Artifice to entrap them, the better so to colour over the Project of ruining them at a convenient time. What a Character now of the most Christian Kings will this give to the Enemies of *France*, and to all foreign Nations? And what confidence can they imagine will be henceforth put in any of their Promises and Treaties? For if they deal thus with their own Subjects, and caress 'em only to ruin them, what can Strangers expect?

Let us a little consider how they introduce the King saying, that at his first coming to the Crown, he was in the Design which he has now been just executing. They mean without doubt, from the time he actually took the Reins of Government in hand, for he was too young before, to enter *personally* on any Design of this Nature: he enter'd on it then, precisely at the time, when the Civil

Wars which had been during his Minority were ended. But what does this mean, but that he engag'd in this Design at the very time when the Protestants came from rendring him the most important Service that Subjects were ever capable of doing their Prince. They came from giving him the highest Testimonies of Loyalty imaginable, then when the greatest part of his other Subjects had taken up Arms against him, they had vigorously opposed the Progress of his Enemies; rejected the great and advantageous Offers that were made them; kept Towns, yea whole Provinces for him; took his Servants and Officers into their Bosoms, when they could not find safety elsewhere; sacrificed their Estates, their Lives, their Fortunes, and their all to him; and in a Word, done all with such a Zeal, as becomes faithful Subjects in so dangerous a Juncture. And this now is the time when the King to requite them for all this, enters on the Design of their utmost Destruction and Ex-

tirpation. This so confirms the Truth of what we said in the Beginning, that it puts it out of all Question: that the Project of their Destruction was grounded on the Services they had rendred the King.

But is it not astonishing that we must be taught this important Secret, and all *Europe* besides; for although the Protestants have done nothing in this occasion but their *Duty*, it could never be imagined their *Duty* should be made their *Crime*: and their *Ruine* should spring from whence should come their *Safety*. God brought Light out of Darkness; but the Politics of France, on the contrary Darkness out of Light. However, they cannot deny that in this new Edict, the King is made to say, he entered on the Design to destroy the Protestant Party at the very time wherein they so signaliz'd and distinguished themselves so successfully for the Interest of the Crown, which will furnish thinking Men, as well within, as without the Kingdom, with matter enough

for Reflexion, and will shew them what use is made of Services and what Recompense to be expected for them.

But we shall say no more of the Expressions of the new Edict, but rather consider the *matter* of it. Was ever a worse and harder Usage than that we have suffered for the Space of above Twenty Years, which have been employed in forming the late Tempest which has at last overwhelmed us. It has been a continual Storm of Decrees, Edicts, Declarations, Orders, Condemnations of Churches, Demolitions of Temples, civil and criminal Processes, Imprisonments, Banishments, *Amendes Honourables*, pecuniary Mulcts, Privation of Offices and Employs, depriving Parents of their Children, and all those other Persecutions which we have already briefly summ'd up. We were told on one hand, that the King would continue to us the Edict of *Nantes*, and he also delivered himself on several Occasions to that Effect; and on the other hand we were made to suffer

after innumerable manners in our Estates, in our Honours, in our Reputations, in our Persons, in our Families, in our Religion, in our Consciences, and all by unjust and indirect Ways; by unheard of Inventions, by false Witnesses, by Oppressions, by publick Vexations, and sometimes underhand Dealings; and all this under the Veil of the King's Authority, and because this was his *good pleasure*. We know very well the Authority of Kings, and the Respect and Submission with which we ought to receive their Orders. And therefore have we, during all these unsupportable Usages expressed a Patience, and an Obedience so remarkable, that it has been the Admiration of the Catholicks themselves, our Countrymen. But it must be acknowledged that those who put his Majesty on dealing thus with us, or have used his name and Authority for this could not possibly do him a greater Dishonour than they have hereby done him, for after all, those Kings

who would be esteemed for their Justice and Equity, hardly govern their Subjects after this manner. They are not for putting all things into Confusion, or filling all Places with Horror and Despair. They seek not their Satisfaction in the Tears and Groans of the Innocent. They take no Pleasure in keeping their Subjects in a perpetual Agitation, leaving them a Life precarious from Day to Day. They love not to have their Names mentioned with Terror, nor do they meditate continual Designs of extirpating those who give them constant and unquestionable Proofs of their Loyalty; much less do they invent cruel Projects, which like Mines may destroy unseen their own natural Subjects, and this too under pretence of Kindness, by the sly and equivocal Declarations which came out then thickest just as the Blow was ready to be given.

There are 3 Things remarkable in the Conduct of this whole Affair. The first is, that as long as they were only on the Way, the true Authors of

the Persecution did not conceal themselves but always studied to conceal the King as much as they could; 'Tis true, the Degrees, Edicts, and Declarations and such other things went still under the Name of his Majesty; But *on the Request* of the Agents, and Syndics of the Clergy: and whilst they were busied in these Matters, the King declar'd openly his intention of maintaining the Edict it self, and that 'twas only the Abuses and Contraventions of it, which he design'd to correct.

The second is, that when they came to the last Extremities, and open force, then they concealed themselves as much as they could, but made the King appear at his full Length. There was nothing heard but these kind of Speeches, *The King will have it so, the King has taken the Matter in his own hands; the King carries it further than the Clergy could have wished.* By these Two means, they have had the Address to be only charg'd with the lesser and milder Part of the Per-

secution, and to lay the more violent and odious at the King's Door.

The third thing which we are to remark is, that the better to obtain their Ends, they have made it their Business to perswade the King, that this Work would crown him with the highest Glory; which is a most horrid Abuse of his Credulity, and an Abuse so much the greater, by how much they would skreen themselves from being thought the Authors of this Council. Hence, if any of them in particular be ask'd at this Day *what they think of it*, there are few of them but will readily condemn it.

Now what falser Idea of Glory could they give, than making it consist in surprizing a poor People defenceless and helpless, disperst over all his Kingdom, and living securely under his wings and under the Protection of the Remains of the Edict of *Nantes*? And who could ever imagine, there were any Intentions of depriving them, of the established Liberty of their Consciences, of surprizing and overwhelming them in an

instant with a numerous Army, to whose Discretion they are delivered up; and who tell them roundly they must either by fair means or by foul, become Roman Catholicks, for that such is the Kings Will and Pleasure? What falser Notion of Glory could they ever offer him, than the putting him thus in the place of God, nay even above God, in making the Faith and Religion of his Subjects, depend on his sole Authority, and that henceforward it must be said in his Kingdom, I believe not because I am perswaded, but I believe, because the King will have me, let God say what he will, which to speak properly is, that I believe nothing, and that I'll be a Turk, a Jew, an Atheist, or whatever the King pleases? What falser Idea of Glory than to force from Men's Mouths by Violence, and a long Series of Torments, a Confession, which the Heart abhors, and for which they afterwards sigh Night and Day, crying continually to God for Mercy! What Glory is there in inventing new Ways of Per-

secution, unknown to former Ages; Persecutions which indeed do not bring Death along with them, but keep Men alive to suffer, that their Patience and Constancy may be overcome by Cruelties, which are above human strength to undergo! What Glory is there in not contenting himself to force those who remain in his Kingdom; but to prohibit also their leaving it, and so keep them under a double Servitude both of Soul and Body! What Glory is there in stuffing his prisons full of Innocent Persons, who are charg'd with no other Crime than the serving God according to the best of their Knowledge: and for this to be exposed either to the rage of the Dragoons, or be condemned to the Gallies, and suffer Execution on Body and Goods?

What falser Idea of Glory for the King than to make it consist in the Abuse of his Power, and to violate without so much as a shadow of Reason, his own Word and Royal Faith, which he had so solemnly given, and so often reiterated; and this only be-

cause he can do it with impunity, and has to deal with a Flock of Innocent Sheep that are under his paw, and cannot escape him; And yet 'tis this which the Clergy of *France*, by the Mouth of the Bishop of *Valence*, calls a Greatness and a Glory that raises Lewis XIV, above all other Kings, above all his Predecessors, and above Time it self, and consecrates him for Eternity? 'Tis what Monsieur *Varrillas* calls Labours greater and more incredible without comparison than those of Hercules. 'Tis what Mr. *Maimbourg* calls an Heroick Action. The Heroical Action (says he) That the King has just now done, in forbidding by his new Edict of October the publick Exercise of the False Religion of the Calvinists, and ordering that all their Churches be forwith demolished. Base unworthy Flatters! Must people suffer themselves to be blinded by the Fumes of your incense.

We should be very loth to exaggerate anything, which may violate the Respect due to so great a Prince;

but we do not think it a failure in our Duty; fairly to represent how far these treacherous Counsellors and odious Parasites, have really injured his honour, by the sad Misfortunes which they have plunged us into, and how criminal they have thereby made themselves toward his Majesty.

* *The Second
Reflexion.*

* They have committed no less Misdemeanours against their country; of which they are Members, and for which a Man would think they should have at least some Consideration. Not to speak here of the great Number of Persons of all Ages, Sexes and Qualities, which they have cut off from it, by their fierce Tempers; although perhaps this Loss be not so inconsiderable as they are willing to have it thought, it is certain that *France* is a very populous Country, but when these feaverish Fits shall be over, and they shall in cold Blood come to consider what they have done, they will find with regret, that these Diminutions are no matter of Tri-

umph, for 'tis not possible that so many substantial People, so many intire Families, who have made themselves considerable in Arts and Sciences, civil and military, can leave a Kingdom without one day being miss'd! At present, whilst they rejoyce in their Spoils, possess themselves of their Houses and Estates, this Loss is not so much felt; 'tis recompensed in some measure they think, by the booty and by the ease of maintaining the Souldiers by this Plunder, but this will not always hold. Neither shall we here insist on that almost general Interruption of Traffick, which these most *Unchristian Persecutors* have caused in the principal Towns of the Kingdom, although this be no little Misfortune. The Protestants carried on a good part of the Trade, as well within the Kingdom as without; and were therein so mixt with the Roman Catholicks, that their Affairs were in a manner inseparably linked together, they dealt as it were in common when these Oppressions came upon them. And

what Confusions have they not produced? How many industrious Measures have they broken? How many honest Designs have they not disappointed? How many Manufactures have been ruin'd? How many bankrupts have they made? And how many Families reduced to Beggary? But this is what the Oppressors little trouble themselves about, they have their Bread gain'd to their Mouths, they live in Wantonness and Ease: and whilst others starve for Hunger, their Revenues are ascertain'd to them. But this hinders not, but that the Body of the Estate must still suffer, both in its *Honour and Interest*. And we may truly say, that Four Civil Wars could not have produced so much mischief, as time will shew to spring from this one Persecution alone.

But we will leave the Consequence of this Affair to Time, and only say, that the Edict of *Nantes*, being a fundamental Law of the Kingdom, and an Agreement between Two Parties by a reciprocal Acceptation, under the

peaceable Reign of *Henry the Great* by the publick Faith, and by mutual Oath, this must certainly be highly Disadvantagious to the Interest of the State, and a very bad Precedent, that after having made a Thousand Infractions of it, it should at length be revok'd, cancell'd and annull'd at the Instigation of a Cabal, who abuse their Credit, and hereby make themselves fit for enterprising and executing any thing. After this Violation, what can henceforward be thought firm and inviolable in *France*, I speak not only of particular Men's Affairs, or of private Families, but of general Establishments, of Royal Companies, of Courts of Justice, of fundamental Laws and Constitutions, and in one word of whatever may relate to the Order, either of judicial Proceedings, or of the Affairs of State, or may serve for a Basis and Foundation of Society; even the Inalienable Rights of the Crown, and the Form of Government it self, not excepted: which are all hereby manifestly shaken.

There are in the Kingdom of *France* a great many thinking Men to whom it will not be hard to discern this. There are, I say, a great Number of worthy Persons in it, who understand how to think as they ought of Matters, and whose Eyes are opened. I mean not your Poets, or such sort of fulsome Flatterers, who for the Sake of a few Madrigals, or a Panegyrick perhaps upon the King, run away with considerable Preferments, and Benefices: nor your Authors who are prepared to write on any side, be it right or wrong, without any Consideration for the true Merit of the Cause; and who are elevated with their knowledge, as if they indeed knew every thing, when they know not how little and contemptible they really are. For I am speaking of those wise, solid, and penetrating Spirits, who look a great way into the Consequences of Things, and are able to make a right Judgment upon them.

Shall we think that these Men see

not what is too visible, namely, that the State is pierced, through and through, by the same Thrust given the Protestants, and that such an open Revocation of the Edict, with so high an hand, leaves nothing firm and sacred.

It is to no purpose to alledge Distinctions in the matter, or say, that the pretended reformed Religion was odious to the State, and that therefore this Attack was with the more Freedom made, for not to mention that the Example is so much the more dangerous, as it was the more cunningly pitched on, in an Affair, wherein the People are likely to take little or no Concern: without adding that their having rendred the Reformed Religion odious to the People, was for certain a premeditated Preparation to what they intended to execute afterwards, and also that far from having a general Aversion against our Religion, the Catholicks both the Common People and the Nobility had no manner of

Animosity against us, (except only a Faction of the Bigots, and those that are call'd the *Propagators of the Faith*) but on the contrary pitied us, and condoled our Misfortunes.

Not to touch further on this, who knows not what an easy matter it is to run down any Cause, or render it odious, or at least indifferent, in the minds of the people, there are never wanting Reasons and Pretences, in matters of this Nature, one Party is set up against another; and that is call'd the *State*, right or wrong, which is the prevailing one: like as in Religion, not the best and holiest, *but the powerfullest and boldest Part is term'd the Church*. We must not then judge of these things from the *Matter*, but from the *Form*. Now if there ever was since the World stood, any thing most solid or inviolable, it was surely this Edict of *Nantes*; to revoke and cancel it, is then to set ones self up above all Obligations to God as well as to Men, 'tis to declare openly,

that there are no longer any Ties or Promises obligatory in the World, but that all things are at pleasure revokable, this is no more than the wise will easily comprehend; and I doubt not but they have comprehended it already.

But it will be proper here to present another Objection, which is, that as the Edict, (take it in what sense we will) is become only a Law by the Authority of *Henry the Great*, so it may likewise be revok'd and annull'd by that of *Lewis XIV.* his Grandson, and Successor. For there is no more Difficulty in one, than in the other: for 'tis easy for Kings to determine by the same means as they began, since if *Henry the Great* had Power to change the Form of governing the State, by introducing into it a new Law; why has not *Lewis the XIV.* the same power then to alter this Form, and by Consequence annul whatsoever his Grandfather has done? But this Objection is but a meer Fallacy, and will be soon an-

swered by considering that it's built upon a false Principle, and thence deduces a falser Conclusion. For as to the Principle upon which this is founded, we say it was not the single Authority of *Henry the Great* which established the Edict. The Edict was a Decree of his Justice after all Parties were heard, and a concordate that pass'd between the Catholicks and the Reformed, authoriz'd by the publick Faith of the whole Estate, confirmed with the Sanction of an Oath, and ratified by the Execution of it; now this is it that renders the Edict immutable, and sets it above the Reach of any of the Successors of *Henry* the IV. They can be only in this Case, the Depositories and the Executors, not the Masters of it, and can have no Right to make it depend on their absolute Will and Pleasure. *Henry the Great* never employed the Force of Arms to make the Catholicks consent to it; and though since his Death under the Minority of Louis XIII. There

have been several Assemblies of the State of the Realm, the Edict has still remained in its full Force and Vigor, it was therefore, as we have already said, a fundamental Law of the Kingdom, which the King by his own proper Authority could have no Ground of Right to touch. But then even supposing this were a Work grounded on the bare Authority of *Henry*, which in Fact is false; it does not therefore follow that his present Majesty can lawfully revoke it. And the Reason hereof is evident, because there are many things which depend on the good Pleasure of Kings to *do*, but which when done, do not depend on the same good Pleasure to undo; and of this Nature is the said Edict.

It is a Royal Promise, which *Henry the Great* made to the Reformed of his Kingdom, as well for himself as his Successors for ever, and consequently this is a perpetual Obligation or hereditary Debt, charged on himself and his Posterity. Moreover, it is not true that *Henry the Great*

did change any thing in the Government of the State, at least as to Essentials, when he gave Liberty of Conscience to his Subjects; for this Liberty is a Matter of more Ancient and more inviolable Right than all Edicts, seeing that it is a Right of Nature.

He permitted a publick Exercise of the Reformed Religion; but this Exercise was establish'd in the Kingdom before his Edict, and if he has enlarged the privilege of the Reformed, as (without doubt he has,) he did not do it without the Consent and Approbation of the State, and so herein violated nothing of his lawful Engagements.

But now 'tis not the same with *Lewis XIV.* who of his own pure Authority, makes a real and fundamental Change against the Concurrence of *one* Part of his People, and without the consulting of the *other*; hereby violating his own most sacred Engagements, those of his Kingdom, and even the Laws of Nature too,

which were things absolutely out of his Power to do.

In short, if we consider the means that have been used to arrive at the Revocation in Question, it will be impossible for a Man not to acknowledge how the State is sensibly hurt thereby. For as if it were not enough to suppress the Religious Assemblies, and to null the Privileges and civil Rights of the Protestants, by unjust Decrees, without so much as any Formality or Hearing; There are also sent among the *Souldiers to dispute the Points of Religion with them*; and oblige them to turn. They are sackt like People taken by Assault, they are forc'd in their Consciences, and Hell itself, with all that is merciless and cruel is let loose upon them for this End. And this is to speak modestly, *The effect of a Military and Arbitrary Government, which is regulated neither by Justice, Reason nor Humanity.* Can it be thought, that *France* will find its Account in this matter! Or that wise Men will think this an equitable Way

of governing? However, this is a first Essay that is none of the least, they that made it, shew how skilful they are, and who knows if they will be content to rest here? There needs only another design, another Passion to satisfie, another Revenge to execute; and then woe be to those who shall oppose it, for the Dragoons will not have forgot their Trade.

* *The Third
Reflexion.*

* To these two Reflexions, which Respect the *French* King and the States of his Realm, we may add a *Third* which will regard the Interests of all the Kings, Princes, and other Potentates of *Europe*, as well of the one as of the other Religion. We shall not be much mistaken if we say, that they have a common and general Concern herein; in as much as these most skilful Artists in Mischief do as much as ever they can to trouble the good Understanding that is between them and their Subjects. We are however perswaded, that their wise and just Government will, in this Respect put them out of all fear: But

this hinders not Examples of this Nature from being always of bad Consequence, as naturally tending to beget in the Minds of the Vulgar, (who commonly judge of things without examining into particulars) Suspicions and Distrusts of their Sovereigns, as if they dreamed of nothing but devouring their Subjects, and delivering them up to the Discretion (or rather Fury) of their Souldiers. For the greater Moderation and Justice Princes may have, the less are they obliged to such as would inspire their People with matter for so dangerous Sentiments; which are apt to produce the worse Effects.

Besides is it not certain, that the Princes and States of *Europe*, cannot without a great deal of Displeasure see *France*, which makes so considerable a figure in the World, and has so powerful an Influence, should now put her self in such a Condition as that no just Measures can be taken with her? For after so scandalous and publick a Violation of the Word of Three suc-

cessive Kings, and of the publick Faith, what credit can be ever given for the future, to her Promises, or Treaties? Nor will it be sufficient here to say, that the publick Treaties will have force, so long at least as the Interest of *France* will require, for that will hereafter depend on the private Interest, or perhaps capriciousness, of a sort of heady strong People, that are for allowing nothing either to the Laws of Prudence or of Equity, but will manage all by main Force.

And if they have had the Power to do within the Kingdom what they have lately put in Execution, what may we not expect that they will do as to Affairs abroad? If they have not spar'd their own Countrymen, with whom they had daily Commerce, and who were greatly serviceable to them, can it be supposed they will spare such as are altogether Strangers? Will they have more Respect think you to Truces or Agreements but of yesterday, than to an Edict of an

Hundred Years continuance, and that too the most august and solemn that ever was; which yet they made no other use of than to amuse an innocent People, and to involve them the more securely in utter Desolation? It looks truly as if they had resolved to bring Matters to this pass on purpose, that their being no more Faith or Dependency to be had on the promises of *France*, all her Neighbours should thereby continually be upon their Guard against her; and the more when she promises than when she threatens; and in Peace than in War, so that there is no more Hopes of being at quiet with Respect to her, but what either the Security of Hostages, or the Diminution of her Forces must give. This being so in Respect of all Princes and States in general, as well Catholick as Protestant, what may then the Protestant Princes and States in particular think, but that it is really the Design of *France* to ruin them all, and to make no stop till she has utterly devoured them?

Everybody knows, that the Protestant Princes and Powers understand their Interests well enough, to be able to discern them through the Clouds, and Mists wherewith these would cover them, and 'tis not doubted but they do indeed see, that this is a Beginning, or an Essay, which *France* expects shortly to give the last and finishing Stroak to.

That Court has suffered itself to be possessed with a most gross Bigotry, and with a false Zeal of Catholicism; it is become the *Genius* that pleases; each one is become a converter even to Fire and Sword: and there are not a few of the Courtiers perswaded that this shall be alone able to weigh down the Scale in their Favour, vain glory is no small Ingredient in this Design; Policy adds also its Prospects and Misteries too, and as these prospects have no Bounds, so these Misteries want not their invisible Springs and surprising Ways, which they will joyn when they please, to the Power of Arms. They think the Season is

ripe, and 'tis but daring to go on. The Easiness they found in making Conquests and Conversions swells their Courage, and they talk already of nothing but a further Progress in so fair a Way. 'Tis however to be hoped that Protestant Princes, and States, will from hence draw their just Conclusions.

As to the Catholick Princes and States they have too sagacious Judgments not to see how much they share also in this Affair. It will *be* made use of to break the good understanding which is betwixt them and the Protestant Powers by amusing *those* with the fair Pretext of the Catholick Religion, and cunningly inspiring these with Suspicions and Jealousies of a general Design against them, to swallow 'em. If the Catholick Princes and States remove not these Suspicions, and if they suffer *France* still to aggrandize her self, by her pretended Zeal for the Catholick Faith, which at the Bottom is but a false Mask, one may without the Spirit of

Prophecy aforehand assure them that they are undone.

It will signify but little to say, *we are as good Catholicks as yourselves*, this will be no Security from his Army; whosoever will not submit to his Yoke shall be an Heretick, nay worse than an Heretick; for now the greatest Heresy *is not to submit: Spain, Germany, and Italy* it self, already know this in some measure.

But will it not be thought a Paradox, if to all that we have said we yet farther add, that even

* *The Fourth
Reflexion.*

the *Pope* himself,* and the *whole* Body of the

Roman Church, must find themselves sensibly interress'd and injur'd in this Persecution. And yet we will say nothing herein, but what is evident Truth, and which the wisest of the Roman Catholicks, must needs agree to. For is not this the worst Character that can be given of the Roman Clergy, to Represent them as an Order of Men, who not only can't endure anything that is not subject to

them in a Religious, but also in a Civil Society, and as Men that are not content to anathematize all that displease them, but who design nothing so much as to exterminate 'em, not only to exterminate them but also forcibly to violate their Consciences, and cram their own Opinions down their Throats, and propagate their Way of Worship by the irresistible and never-failing Argument of Fire and Fagot; lastly as an Order of Men who observe neither Faith nor Justice; who promise only that they may deceive, who for awhile curb their Fury only, that afterwards they may insult the more; that in Peace as well as in War, contrive only to overturn and destroy; who make Allyances only to surprize, and then finding themselves more powerful, deny those they have so surprised even the Liberty of escaping. These are the exact Features and Colours by which the *Roman Clergy* may be easily known, should we Judge of them by the Persecution in *France*; the like whereof was never seen to this Day.

The *Egyptians* and *Assyrians* once persecuted the *Israelites*, but forced them not to embrace the Worship of their Idols; they contented themselves with making them slaves, without doing Violence to their Consciences. The *Heathens* and the *Jews* persecuted the primitive Christians, forced their consciences indeed, but they had never granted them an Edict, nor by persecuting them violated the publick Faith, nor hindered them to make their Escape by Flight. The *Arrians* cruelly persecuted the *Orthodox*, but besides that they went not so far, as to make the common sort of People sign formal Abjurations; there was no Edict, or Concordat between the Two Communions. *Innocent* the III. by his *Croisades* persecuted the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*, but neither had these People any Edict. *Emmanuel* King of *Portugal* furiously persecuted the *Jews*, but he gave them leave to depart out of his Kingdom, and they too had no Edict. It was the

same with those Remains of the Moors, who had canton'd themselves in some parts of the Kingdom of *Grenada*; they were defeated in a War, and commanded to retire into the Country from whence their Ancestors came.

In the last Century the Duke *D'Alba* exercised dreadful Cruelties, upon the Protestants of the seventeen Provinces, but he did not hinder them from flying, nor violated any Edict; and when the worst came to the worst, Death was their release. The *Inquisition* is to this Day in *Spain* and *Italy*; but they are Countries in which no Religion, besides the Roman, was ever tolerated by Edicts, and if the Inquisitors may be accused of Violence and Cruelty, they cannot however be convicted of Perfidiousness.

But in this last Persecution of *France*, there are *Five* things that strike the Mind with Horror. 1st. they make the Consciences and Religion of Men to depend sovereignly upon the Will of a mortal King, 2dly

they violate a Faith solemnly sworn to, 3dly they force Men to be Hypocrites and oblige them to be wicked, by seeming to embrace a Religion they abhor, 4thly they prohibit and prevent All Flight and Retiring out of the Kingdom, 5thly they do not inflict Death but preserve Life for no other purpose than to oppress it with longer and more dreadful *Torments*. If after this the Court of *Rome* with its Clergy, dispers'd all over *Europe*, will not disclaim so odious and criminal a conduct, nay if they condemn it not it will be an indelible Stain to the Honour of their Religion. For not only Protestants, who are of a different Communion, but also an infinite Number of their own Members, will be mightily scandalized thereat, nay even *Turks*, *Jews*, and *Pagans* will rise up in Judgment against them. They cannot be ignorant what Censures have been made on what pass'd in the Council of *Constance* concerning *John Huss* and *Jerom of Prague*, whom they put to Death, notwithstanding the safe Conduct of the Em-

peror *Sigismund*. But there is something greater here: There only Two Men were concern'd, *here* more than *Fifteen Hundred Thousand*, *those* they put to Death, and if they had done the same to *these*, they would have embraced their Death with Joy and Comfort. The Council thought its Authority in this greater than the *Emperors*, but here can be produced none greater than that which establish'd our Edict.

* We are not insensible of the different Methods the Persecutors take to shelter themselves from public Censure, some take a speedy course, that is downright to deny the Fact, and to persuade the World, That Force and Violence had no share in the conversions; but that they were soft, calm, and voluntary; and that if there were some Dragoons at any time concern'd therein, 'twas only because the Reformed themselves desired 'em, that so they might have an handsom Pretence of changing their Religion.

** Refutation of
the false Shifts
and Pretences
of the Persecutors.*

Was their ever so much Impudence seen! What will they not deny, who can thus flatly deny what was done in the Face of the Sun, and what a whole Kingdom from one End of it, to the other have seen, and still see to this Day? For now in the Beginning of the Year 1686, While I am composing this sad Narrative, they continue to exercise the very same Rage, that concluded the preceding Year; the same Dragoons both in Cities and Countries execute the same Fury against some miserable Remains of Protestants, who will not fall down and worship the Golden Image.

They are used like Rebels in their Persons, in their Estates, in their Wives and in their Children; and if there be any difference, 'tis in this that their Sufferings are still increas'd, yet if we will believe the Clergy haranguing the King by the Mouth of the Bishop of *Valence* their Speaker, it is a Miracle of his Majesty's Reign that such infinite Numbers should be by him converted without using any constraint at all, and that from all

Parts, there should be such a Concourse of People joyfully flocking to re-unite themselves to the Catholick Church, *All this*, saith he, *is done without Violence*, without arms, and not so much by the force of your Edicts, as by the Exemplariness of your Piety. And if we will believe moreover the greatest Part of the Abjurations which these poor opprest People, are forc'd to make with a Dagger at their Breast; they speak indeed the same Sense, that is, that they have done this of their own proper Motion, without being constrained in any wise thereto.

If we will believe *Monsieur Maimbourg* in his Epistle Dedicatory to the King, which he has prefixed, before his History of Pope *Gregory* lately Publish'd, there has been neither Arms nor Violence used for those Conversions, You are to believe, says he, that after having already vanquished all the Enemies of France by the invincible Power of your Arms, you shall alone eternally have the Glory and Happiness of having rooted

out of the most Christian Kingdom, that Enemy of God, Heresy (as he calls it), without using against it, to compel the Protestants to return into the Bosom of the Church, other Arms, or Forces, than those of your most charitable Zeal for their Conversion, and the manifest Justice of your Decrees and Edicts, which have had all the Success as could be wish'd for or expected. And in his *third* Book after having said that *Ethelred* King of England did not compel by any kind of Violence his Subjects to embrace the Christian Religion, having learned of his Divines that the Service rendred to Jesus Christ ought to be voluntary, but only kept his Favours for such as should turn Christians, without doing Injustice to others; after this he adds these Words; This is the Method Lewis the Great follows exactly at this time in order to convert the pretended Reformed, who have no Cause of Complaint. For no Violence is offer'd to anyone, and if the King be graciously pleased to bestow on the new Converts, such Favours and Kindness

as are not bestow'd upon others, and which he is not obliged to confer upon those who are obstinate in their Heresy; yet no injustice is hereby done, since nothing of any Privilege is taken from them, but what they have usurped contrary to the intent of the Edicts; and that he has a Right to Punish them, when they act contrary to his Ordinances. It is very likely that this Method so soft, so prudent, so efficacious will at last have the same effect in France under Lewis the Great, to reconcile the Calvinists to the Church as it had under King Ethelred in England for the Conversion of his Subjects; who powerfully drawn by such means came dayly crowding to demand the holy Baptism, as we see our Protestants, begin now to come in Flocks to Mass.

And 'tis upon the same Principles that Monsieur Varillas in his Dedication to the King of the Book just publish'd by him under the Title of the History of the Revolutions which have happen'd in Europe in Matters of Religion, does not scruple to speak in this manner; Your

Majesty in order to ruin Calvinism has only obliged the French that profess'd it, to the exact Observance of the Edict of Nantes ; by punishing the Contraventions with the Penalties contain'd therein ; that alone was sufficient to reduce the Hereticks to so small a Number, that the Edict being now useless there was reason to revoke it.

Thus is the Credulity of the Publick wretchedly impos'd on, the Seeds of Imposture are sown at Random, which are left to grow up, and mature with time. Posterity who shall see these pieces of pretended Histories, will be apt to believe them True. And making their Judgment from this surprizing account of the matter, they will certainly say. Behold here what has been said to the King himself, who must not have open Falsehoods presented to him ; here also are the proper Acts and Deeds of those very Persons who were converted. Why shall not then Posterity believe it ; seeing that even at present there are some Shameless enough, (or

to speak better, well enough Paid) to Publish it in foreign Countries; and that there are found likewise some credulous enough to believe it.

And why should they not believe it, seeing it is asserted by a Bishop; and that in the Name too of the Body of the Clergy, and by Two grave Authors besides? Must there be so much said to establish a *probable* Opinion? Posterity will not be bound to know who this Bishop of Valence was; nor what sort of a Life he always led; nor will they be under a necessity of knowing how many Fables Monsieur Maimbourg has been more than once convicted of; which he had embelish'd his Histories with, nor that he was a Person determinately Resolv'd, though detected, never to acknowledge himself in an Error, neither will they be oblig'd to know, that Monsieur *Varillas* not finding his Account in telling the Truth, has in his old Days thought fit at last, to consecrate his Pen to this Service, induc'd to it by the Favors of the Archbishop of Paris, as may

be gather'd from the Preface of this his late Treatise.

But to come to the Point, what likelihood is there that so great and considerable a Number of Persons, should without anything constraining them to it, chuse to Fly out of *France*, and leave behind them their Houses, their Lands of Inheritance, their Effects, and several of them too their Wives and Children, only for to rove about the World, and lead a miserable Life out of meer Humour: Is there any likelihood that Persons of Quality of both Sexes, who enjoyed some Twelve, Fifteen, Twenty, or Thirty Thousand Livres *per Annum*, should abandon their Estates, and that not only for themselves but for their Successors too: Expose themselves to numberless Perils, and to the Inconveniencies of long Journies; and reduce themselves in a manner to Beggary; which is a Condition the most unsupportable in the World to Persons of Quality, and all this without any Reason, Purely out of a Frolick and, for the sake of a Jest,

without any Occasion? What likelihood that about an Hundred and Fifty Thousand Persons who have already escap'd; some of them into *Switzerland*, others into *Germany*, some into *England*, others into *Holland*, some into *Swedeland*, and others into *Denmark*, and some even into *America*, without having ever seen or known one another, should yet all agree to tell the same Lie, and to say with one Voice, that the Protestants are cruelly persecuted in France, and that by unheard of Severities they are forc'd to change their Religion; although there is no such Matter, is it likely in the last Place, that the Embassadors and Envoys of foreign Princes and Powers, should all of them Lie in concert to their Masters; telling them such things which had no Foundation of Truth?

But again, if in *France* the Protestants thus voluntarily, and without constraint, change their Religion, and that the Dragoons are call'd in only as Friends, whence comes it that there is so strict and universal a Guard, on

the Frontiers, to hinder their withdrawing? How is it that the Prisons are cram'd with those who endeavouring to make their Escape, were stopt by the Way? Whence is it that those who have chang'd their Religion, are watched with so great care to hinder their Flight, even to the obliging them to Deposit good Sums of Money, to secure them from the Suspition of it? What an epidemical Distemper is there raging among his Majesty's Subjects, that should make them Fly thus without Reason or without Grounds? and is not this a pleasant shift to say, that the Protestants have themselves call'd in the Dragoons to have a better pretence to change their Religion?

'Tis about Ten Years or more, since there was a Bank set up for Souls: Mr. *Pelisson* has been for a long time at *Paris*, the great Dealer in this infamous Trade of purchasing Converts. These Conversions have of late been the only way of getting Applause, and into Preferments at Court, and in

a Word, a sure and effectual means of raising ones Fortune; And yet they would fain make People think us such Fools, as that in stead of being converted by these easie and advantageous Methods, we should rather choose the help of Dragoons, that is to have the Pleasure of being pillag'd at the best; at least let any one tell us, why, since these Conversions are all pretended to be *Voluntary*, upon the Peoples not being to go to Mass, they should have sent the Dragoons to visit them a Second Time, and use them with the same severity as before.

This is indeed so gross and palpable a lie that others who are more Ingenuous have undertaken to defend these Violences, as if they were naturally from the genuine Spirit of the Catholick Church; and for this Purpose, they have continually in their Mouth that Passage of the Gospel, *Compelle Intrare*, compel them to come in; the Letter of St. *Augustin* to *Vincentius* and the Persecution by the *Orthodox* of *Africk* against the *Donatists*.

Were this a Place to dispute against those furious Theologists, 'twould not be hard to shew the Vanity of those Allegations, the Apostles knew at least as well as they, the Sence and Intent of their Master, neither wanted they Zeal for the Promotion of his Gospel. Did they therefore ever make use of Arms to augment the Number of the Faithful, or did their Master for that end give them any Temporal or Military power? Who knows not but in the Stile of Scripture the Words *Compellere* and *Cogere* signifie a soft Violence of Exhortation and Persuasion, as in the XIX of *Genesis*, where it is said that *Lot compelled* the Angels to come into his House, *Compulit illos oppido* pressed upon, V. 3. and 1. Sam. XXVIII. 23. that *Saul's* Servants *Compelled* him to eat, *Coegerunt eum*. And Luke XXIV. 29, that the Two Disciples going to *Emmaus*; *compelled* Jesus or constrained him (*Cogerunt illum*) to remain with them; and Acts XVI. 15. that *Lydia compelled* (constrained)

St. Paul and his Company (*Coegit nos*) to come into her House. As for St. Augustin's Letter, it must be confess'd that nothing can better shew us the Character of this sort of Persons than this Allegation of theirs. They cannot be Ignorant how that the general Sentiment of the Fathers is, that Conscience is never to be forced, nor Religion to be established by Violence. They know that this is the general Voice of the Primitive Church, insomuch that St. Martin cut off from his Communion the Bishops that persecuted the Priscilianists. And yet these Men would fain force upon us for a Rule of Christian Practice a Letter of one who had been exasperated, and who had suffer'd himself to be misled by some other turbulent Bishops; whose Doctrine and Reputation by this one single Act, have been stain'd with an irreparable Blemish. They are not a whit more successful in what they allege, concerning the Persecution of the Donatists by the Orthodox. For to omit that the Orthodox never forced

the Donatists, either to embrace Doctrines, or Worship that they had an abhorrence for, or to abjure those they profess'd, they only constrained them to submit outwardly to a personal Judgment, given by Lawful Judges on a Matter of Fact; which was whether *Cecilian* was a Prevaricator, or not. To omit all this, I say, it is certain that that Persecution was visibly follow'd with Exemplary Chastisements from the Divine Justice upon the Persecutors; who were soon after by the *Arrians* treated with much more Cruelty than the Donatists had been by them, thus God permitted, that as they had abus'd the Weakness of *Honorius*, to make him put in Execution what *Constantine* the Great would never Consent to, so the Arrian Bishops should in like manner abuse the Power of the Kings of the *Vendals* to oppress the flourishing Churches of *Africa*. But what need of all this dispute, since all they advance is altogether besides the Question? Let them but shew us one only

Passage, or Example, from whence it can be inferr'd that public Faith given to a Society by Solemn Edicts and Treaties (such as were in the Edict of *Nantes*) might be violated, had there ever been an Agreement betwixt the *Jews* and the *Heathens*, with the Apostles, and this solemnly consented to and ratified, when our blessed Saviour said *Compelle Intrare* Luke XIV. v. 23. compel them to come in; has St. Augustin ever said, that we ought to deal perfidiously with those whom we esteem Hereticks, when we have promis'd to Live with them like Brethren, and fellow Citizens? Had the Donatists any Edicts to shelter them from the insults of the Orthodox? Should we yield to this detestable Divinity, what would become of all of us? For in short the Papists are as much Hereticks to the Protestants as the Protestants are to the Papists; yet in most parts of *Europe*, they live together in Peace, on the Faith of Alliances, Treaties and Promises, and trading together, are at full

Liberty to follow the Dictates of their own Consciences. But these publick Priests as much as in them lies would quickly bring all things into confusion, and a *State of War*. They set the Catholicks against the Protestants, teaching them, that their Religion obliges them to betray and surprise the Protestants, when ever they can do it safely and to treat them with Fire and Faggot, if they will not change their religion. They set the Protestants against the Catholics; for what Peace and Society can there be with People, who not only make no Conscience to break their Faith, but on the contrary think themselves obliged in Conscience to break it, as often as they find Occasion, such are the natural Consequences of the pernicious Doctrine of these Converters, with their *compelle intrare* and the letter of St. *Augustin*.

The worst on it is, these are not only the Discourses or Writings of some giddy brained Authors, whose Sphere of Activity commonly extends

no further than their Study: They are real Deeds and notorious Facts, 'tis a great *King* whom they have abused; powerful *Ministers* into whose Minds they have instill'd those Maxims, and who put 'em in practice, Armies of *Dragoons*, who have depopulated a whole Kingdom, and plunder'd above Five Hundred Thousand Families. Do we live in an Age wherein Religion is made to consist in having no Fear of God, or must we imagine that the Fear of God, consists in that furious Zeal, which inspires such sorts of Violences? Can any think these Excesses are pleasing to Christ, whom we both profess to own as the Author of our Faith, and that he can ever be willing to have his Religion propagated, by such treacherous and wicked Devices? He has said indeed, that he will not suffer the Gates of Hell to prevail against his Church; but he has no where said, he will open Hell Gates for the propagating of it. Now if ever anything in the World may be said to carry

the Air of the Gates of Hell, certainly it must be this Persecution in *France*.

Whatever Antipathy there may be between the See of Rome, and us, we cannot believe the present Pope *Innocent* XII. to have had any hand therein, or that the Storm has faln on us from that Quarter. We know him to be a mild Prince, and his Temper disposed to more moderate Councils, than those of his Predecessors. Moreover, we know the Clergy of *France* do not always consult him in what they set about, and what has been done by them against *Rome*, and the little deference pay'd to its Authority has been frequently made an Argument to induce us, to submit ourselves to the King's Will in these other matters. So that we hope the Pope himself considering us still as Men, and as Christians, will pity us, and blame the Methods that have been used against us, had he no other Reason than the mere interest of his own Religion.

However, 'tis certain the Protestants of *France* are the fittest objects of Publick Compassion, the World ever knew. Some of them Sigh and Lament under an hard and barbarous Slavery, which they would willingly exchange for Irons in *Algiers* or *Turkey*, for there they would not be forced to turn *Mahometants*, and might still entertain some hopes of Liberty by the way of Ransom. Other of them are wand'ring about in Foreign Countries, stript of their Estates, separated (in all probability for ever) from their Parents, Relations and Friends whom they have left in the most doleful condition imaginable, Husbands have left their Wives, and Wives, their Husbands, Fathers their Children, and Children their Fathers. We have seen as in a moment our Fortunes, our Establishments, our Inheritances, our Houses, our Commerce, our hopes drop away; And of all the good things of this earthly State, we have scarce any thing left us, but our miserable Lives, and they too supported by the Charity of our Christian Brethren.

Yet amongst all these Afflictions we have this Comfort still, that we truly suffer for a good Conscience, and the Cause of God, and can defy even the malice of our Persecutors, to charge us with any the least Misdemeanour that could have merited this barbarous usage; We have served our King and Country with the utmost Zeal and Fidelity; We have constantly submitted ourselves to the Laws, and to the Magistrates; We have been always ready to bear our Part of the Publick Burthens; And as for our Country Men, they have no reason to complain of us. We have for Twenty Years together suffered with an Exemplary Patience the most furious and Dreadful Storms, and when in the *Vivares* and *Cevennes*, some thought themselves bound in Conscience to Preach on the Ruines of their Churches, unjustly and illegally demolisht; their small number, which were but a handful only served to stir up more the Obedience and Resignation of the whole Body.

And in these last Storms we have been like Sheep, Innocent and without defence. We comfort our selves then in the Justice of our Cause, and in our peaceable Deportment under it.

But we comfort our selves likewise in the *Christian* Compassion shewed us by Foreign Princes, and States, who have opened their Arms and received us into their Dominions, succour'd, relieved, and comfort'd us; And the People who live under their Government, have seconded these their kind Offices. And we have found in all of them, not only new *Masters* and new *Friends*, but the real Tenderness of Fathers and Brethren. And as these Bowels of Commiseration have been as Balm to our Wounds; So we hope never to lose the Remembrance thereof, and trust, that neither we nor our Children after us, shall ever do any thing by God's Grace, to render us unworthy of this their Protection.

The only affliction for which we

cannot be comforted is, to see our Religion oppressed in the Kingdom of *France*; So many Churches, wherein God was daily served according to the simplicity of the Gospel, demolished, so many Flocks dispers'd, so many poor Consciences Sighing and Groaning under their Bondage; so many Children depriv'd of the Education they were to receive from their Parents. But we hope that at length, the same God who heard heretofore the Sighs of his People under the Bondage of *Egypt*, will also hear at this time the Cries of his Faithful Servants. We call not for Fire from Heaven, we only pray, that God would touch the Hearts of our Persecutors, that they may repent, and be saved together with us; We entreat such a Deliverance, as he in his Wisdom shall think fitting. And as our Prayers are in the Order of his Providence; We have grounds to hope that he will hear them and that he will Establish us again in our first Estate.

But in the mean while, and till it shall please God in his mercy to bring that happy Event to pass, least we should be wanting to the Justice of our Cause, we desire that this Account which contains our *Just Complaints*, may serve for a Protestation before Heaven and Earth against all the violences we have suffer'd in the Kingdom of *France*. Against all the Arrests, Declarations, Edicts, Regulations, and all other Ordinances of what nature soever, which our Enemies have caused to be Published to the prejudice of the Edict of *Nantes*; Against all sort of Acts, Signatures, or Verbal Declarations expressing an Abjuration of our, and the Profession of the *Romish* Religion, which Fear, Torture, and a Superior Power have extorted from us or from our Brethren; Against the Plunder that has been already or shall hereafter be committed of our Goods, Houses, Effects, Debts, Trusts, Rents, Lands, Inheritances and Revenues, Common or Private, either by way of Confisca-

tion, or by any other way whatsoever as Unjust, Treacherous, and Violent, committed only by a Superior Power, in full Peace, contrary both to Reason and the Laws of Nature, and the Rights of all Society, and injurious to all Mankind; But especially we *Protest* against the Edict of the 18th of *October* 1685, containing the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, as a manifest Abuse of the King's Justice, Authority and Royal Power, since the Edict of Nantes was in it self inviolable and irrevocable, above the reach of any Human Power, design'd for a standing Agreement and Concordat between the *Roman Catholicks*, and us, and a fundamental Law of the Realm, which no Authority on Earth has Power to Infringe, or Annul. We protest likewise against all the Consequences that may follow such a Revocation, against the Extinction of the Exercise of our Religion throughout the whole Kingdom of *France*, against all the Ignominies and Cruelties committed upon dead Bodies, by depriv-

ing them of Christian Burial, and exposing them in the Field to be Devoured by Ravenous Beasts, or dragging them ignominiously through the Streets upon Hurdles; against the taking away Children by force, and the Orders given to Fathers and Mothers to Cause them to be Baptized and Educated by *Romish* Priests. But above all. we *Protest* against that impious and abominable Position, which is now adays made the General Rule in *France*, by which Religion is made to depend on the Pleasure and Despotick Power of a Mortal Prince, and Perseverance in the Faith branded with the Names of Rebellion and Treason, which is to make of a Man a God, and tends to the introducing and authorizing of Atheism and Idolatry. We *Protest* moreover against all manner of violent and inhumane detaining of our Brethren in *France*, whether in Prisons, Gallies, Monasteries, or any other Confinements, to hinder them from leaving the Kingdom, and going to

seek in Foreign Countries that Liberty of Conscience which they cannot enjoy in their own; which is the utmost pitch of Brutish Cruelty and Hellish Iniquity.

Lastly we *Protest* against whatsoever we may, of Right Protest against, and declare that such is our meaning, that things not expressed be comprehended under those that are here expressed. We most humbly supplicate all Kings, Princes, Sovereign Lords, States and Nations, and generally all Persons of what Condition soever to be graciously pleased, that these our lawful and indispensable *Protestations*, which in the simplicity and sincerity of our Hearts we are obliged to make, and do make accordingly, may serve before God, and before them, as a standing Testimony for us and our Posterity, for the Preservation of our Rights, and for the Discharge of our Consciences.



